Captain Thomas Hill

Vincat eum Stultos ratio

Hor. Serm. lib 2. 7. 28.

MIRROR;

PRESENTED TO

HIS SICILIAN MAJESTY,

Great Britain, and the Allied Sovereigns

REFLECTING

POLITICAL FACTS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE,

CALCULATED TO UNDECEIVE THEM;

Hitherto Unpublished.

BY

CAPTAIN FRANCIS ROMEO,

A native of Calabria, belonging to the noble order of the Sacred Roman Empire, Member of the Academies *Buon Gusto*, in Palermo, *Florimontana*, in Vibonia, *Peloritana de' Periclitanti*, in Messina; and who had been employed in Sicily, in the confidential department of the Britsh Army stationed there.

Audite insulæ, et attendite populi de longe.---SAP.

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MOTIVES

That induced the Author to publish this Work,

SUBMITTED TO

His Sicilian Majesty, to the King of Great Britain, and to the Allied Sovereigns.

Seneca held forth his Mirror to those addicted to anger, in the hope, that every one seeing the deformity of such a passion, might avoid and abhor it. A Mirror is here also presented to his Sicilian Majesty, formed on the same principles and for a like purpose. By it, that Sovereign may easily perceive how much he is disfigured and traduced by the iniquitous and perfidious wretches, who are just now his Counsellors. It is not hereby meant however to indispose him against every one of his Counsellors in particular. There are certainly some of them distinguished for their personal honour, merit and wisdom, whom this work truly respects; to whom his people owe their grateful thanks; and whose salutary influence it is the general wish to see exalted, while the destruction of that fatal ascendency, which those of an opposite description have gained, is as anxiously looked for. Against these last only aré my observations directed. Only

villains need complain of me, not the real friends of their country, of reason, of honour, of His Sicilian Majesty, and the Allied Sovereigns! Let the children of darkness, the distinguished proselytes of imposture, do us at least the favour to appear for once in the open day. Let them stand alone, or accompanied with those, their high and worthy supporters, who have hitherto protracted the miseries of the people, and the disgrace of their country. Alone, though the butt of a thousand misfortunes, and subjected to the greatest sufferings, I am still a stranger to fear. The wicked in power inspire me with no terror; and instead of dreading, I pity them. Instead of shunning, I defy them to the combat, and here boldly challenge them to measure their strength with mine.

If the endeavouring to undeceive my Sovereign; if the seeking to withdraw him from the brink of the fatal precipice, on which he is placed; if the wishing to rescue my country from all malefic influence, and to spare Europe the horror of seeing rekindled the torch of *Alecto*, be deemed heresy; let whoever thinks so, be assured that I should be truly proud to find renewed against me the anathemas once fulminated against a Galileo and a Copernic; or against those, who durst assert the existence of the Antipodes. But on the other hand I should think myself very happy, and much beholden to those wise friends of their country, who, animated with the real desire of benefiting their nation and government, would deign to correct, improve and extend the observations and principles here set forth; which, owing to their complicated

state, and the shortness of the time employed in arranging them, leave certainly many blanks to be filled up, and many points to be rectified.

The Mirror presented to his Sicilian Majesty, is at the same time equally recommended to the Allied Sovereigns. The conduct of the actual Ministry of the two Sicilies shews the effects of a violent reaction. The attempts of these assessors render vain the acts of the present Sovereigns of Europe; compromise their virtue, and make their sincerity be questioned: nor will these Princes have forgotten that all their glory was the result of that confidence in their philanthropy and good faith, with which they lately inspired their people. If the principle fails, can its consequences subsist? Will political errors, though their effects be slow, miss to produce their natural consequences? Europe is become clear sighted. The people's enthusiasm is roused. Their courage is exalted. In more than one country the liberty of the press exists. And it were the merest illusion to befriend such ill-omened measures. Such a fatal illusion will be dissipated the moment that the standard of the perfidious is dashed to the ground. Humanity so degraded requires this to be done, as well as the glory and security of every Sovereign; and it is from a wish to perform so sacred a duty to Reason, that I propose to unmask the darkest imposture; and now venture to attack the fiend on his own very ground, supposed so inaccessible; and even within the magic circle of all his fatal enchantments.

Nisi utile est quod facimus
Gloria stulta est.—Phædr.

PROSPECTUS.

IN this Work are detailed the attempts of BONAPARTE to make himself master of Sicily in 1810, and the reasons for which MURAT did not second his design. The plan of destroying the English army garrisoned in Messina in 1811, and of assassinating their Commanders, together with all the English resident in that place, conceived by the chief persons in office in the Sicilian Government, which at that time was in alliance with Great Britain. The manner in which this horrid and barbarous plan was to have been executed; and how the Enemy was to have effected his landing in Sicily. The measures proposed by the Author of the Work, approved of by the British Commanders, Lieutenant Generals MAITLAND, CAMPBELL and DONKIN, and most successfully executed by himself, to prevent the impending mischief. The admirable policy with which the said British Generals, and particularly Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK effected the sepa-

ration of MURAT from BONAPARTE; which so contributed to the great political changes, that have since taken place in Europe. The motives which at that time induced MURAT to break with BONAPARTE, and concur in saving from harm the British army. The reasons, which in 1814 induced the Sicilian Government to recal from their prisons and exile, and to exalt to the first posts of honour in the kingdom, those very Miscreants who, in the year 1811 had projected the massacre of the English in Messina; who, to exculpate themselves, had declared her Majesty, the late Queen of Sicily, the author of their conspiracy; who had been respited from suffering death by the humanity of the British Minister: and whom his Sicilian Majesty had then stiled *most wicked, perfidious and sacrilegious calumniators.* The motives, which, after their reinstalment in office, induced these Revolutionaries to cause MURAT to be shot, as a disturber of the public peace. The circumstances preceding, accompanying and following his execution, which demonstrate the real cause of their having ordered him to be so quickly dispatched: and which has never hitherto been explained. The way, in which these Revolutionaries, now at the head of affairs in Naples, ordered MURAT's execution, in spite of his appeal, from the outset, to Great Britain and the Allied Sovereigns; and notwithstanding his being furnished with British passports; while at the same period they insulted Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK; persecuted all who had favoured the English; depriving Sicily, on account of its loyalty to its Sovereign, and attachment to the

English, of the rights and privileges it had enjoyed for so many centuries; and, for the like reasons, thwarted and humbled, as much as in them lay, the Heir Apparent of the throne; and all in order to discredit the honour, the promises, and good faith of the Allied Sovereigns, and particularly of Great Britain; exalting thus the glory of BONAPARTE; and making his system and sway appear the most preferable.

In this Work a view is also taken of all the departments of Government; it touches on the moral, political, military, diplomatic and economical systems; on those of public health, education, industry, encouragement, correction, amusement, and the modification of vice. From all which will appear the wants of the several departments, what has been done, neglected or thwarted in each branch; and hence the method and means of bettering the situation of those countries, by diminishing their wants and miseries; improving their resources; obviating, as much as possible, those evils that are most incident to society; and thus establishing the happiness of the subject, and the prosperity of the State.

The motives will be further noticed and explained, which induced the actual Ministers of the Court of Naples, to annul the Constitution, granted to the Sicilians by their Sovereign, and guaranteed to them, for fifteen years, by Great Britain; to persecute all over the kingdom, FREE MASONRY, and the CARBONARIAN SOCIETIES; and to persuade their King to change his title of Ferdinand the *Fourth* to that of Ferdinand the *First*.

It will likewise be shewn how far MURAT's overthrow was owing to his ill treatment of the CARBONARIAN SOCIETIES; and BONAPARTE's rise and downfal, to the favours granted, or insults offered to FREE MASONRY.

Finally, a parallel will be drawn between the conduct of the late Spanish Government, and that of the present one of Naples; and from what has happened in Spain, will be shewn what must be expected soon to take place in Naples.

JAM TUA RES AGITUR PARIES DUM PROXIMUS ARDET.

Ovid.

TO

HIS SACRED AND ROYAL MAJESTY

FERDINAND,

(Late the Fourth, now the First,)

KING OF THE TWO SICILIES, &c. &c. &c.

Circumstances preceding, accompanying, and following Murat's execution, explanatory of that event.

Plan formed in 1811 *of massacring the British army in Messina; and how it was defeated.*

SIRE,

YOU are aware, and I need therefore only remind you, that the new marriage of Napoleon with the Arch-Duchess of Austria, niece to your late royal consort, introduced a vertiginous spirit into your court, as well as into that of the late Murat (1).

This new alliance revived in the breasts of your counsellors the almost extinguished hopes of recovering the kingdom of Naples,

while it excited in Murat the utmost apprehensions of losing it.

The preference given to this new, and powerfully influencing, as close connection, gave birth to events, which very much influenced the subsequent changes in the political system of Europe (2).

Murat was too fond of his beautiful kingdom of Naples, not to wish to retain it; and between his anxious desire of preserving, and fear of losing it, he gave headlong into an endless train of chimerical projects, and false measures, which proved so very fatal to him in the end. As soon as, in consequence of the aforesaid marriage, a relationship had taken place between your Majesty and the late Ruler of France, Murat began to contemplate in Bonaparte the defender of your rights, no longer the promoter of his own views; in the French Empress a most formidable rival; and in the English, the fittest supporters possible of his designs and future operations (3).

So fantastical and foolish an idea, which the false politics of his predecessor Joseph had confirmed him in, made him take certain steps, which however did not escape the late Saliceti's notice, the political Argus of that time. Napoleon was secretly informed of all by that minister. Murat, upon this, was called to Paris. The manner in which he justified his conduct was not thought very satisfactory; and Bonaparte was as little pleased with Murat, as this last was at finding himself subjected to so new and so strict a species of superintendence (4). A few months after this the prefect of general police at Naples, the Cavaliero Maghella, gave a diplomatic entertainment; at which Saliceti was present; who, after eating an ice-meat, was immediately taken ill of a violent cholic: the physicians pronounced his case hopeless, and three days after he was a corpse. His situation was bestowed upon Maghella, under whose ministry no further effective obstacles were put to the secret introduction of colonial produce from Sicily into Calabria (5).

Meanwhile the king of Rome was born, and Murat had to set out again for Paris; where, at the same time that he looked on the Empress with a jealous eye, Bonaparte on that account, no longer shewed him the usual marks of his former confidence; so that new motives were furnished, on both sides, for mutual diffidence and disgust (6). Murat plainly foresaw that he was going to be deprived of his kingdom; when the ex-queen Caroline, his wife, interposed with her brother, and through her mediation a reconciliation took place (7).

At this very time the Empress, availing herself of her influence, on having brought forth an heir to the empire, deigned to interest herself with her husband in behalf of her aunt, your Majesty's spouse; and Napoleon, though he had formerly sworn never more to suffer the Bourbon dynasty to reign in Naples (8), assured her, upon this occasion, "*that if her aunt would but contrive to get rid of the English, and admit his army into Sicily, he would not only restore to her the*

kingdom of Naples, but would make over to her besides the marquisat of Ancona (9).

In consequence of this assurance, frequent and mysterious messages passed to and from your Majesty's cabinet and that of Bonaparte (10).

In the month of March, 1810, Bonaparte ordered the troops dispersed all over Naples to concentrate their forces in the farther Calabria, for the expedition about to be undertaken against Sicily (11).

Murat was charged with the operations, and General Gregner appointed to assist him, and at the same time watch over his conduct (12). An army thus of twenty-eight thousand men remained for three whole months within view of the British forces, busied only in performing mere sham and farcical manœuvres (13).

To give, however, some feasible colour to all this inactivity, Murat caused, at last,

three thousand Neapolitan soldiers to disembark on the beach at San Stefano, four miles from Messina; nine hundred of whom he sacrificed, and recalled back the rest whose retreat was not intercepted, though the whole of the streight they had to repass was kept at the time by the English fleet. Yet the vice admiral, who could have easily made them all prisoners, however much blamed at the time by those who were not in his secret, for allowing them to escape, was afterwards rewarded, instead of being punished, for his conduct on the occasion (14).

While this was executing on the part of Napoleon and Murat, and when Sicily was so immediately threatened, the British commander in chief, Sir John Stuart, applied again and again to your Majesty's court for a supply of troops, but never received any; on the contrary, your forces were always kept purposely at a distance from the centre of military operations, and from the threatened point of danger and attack (15).

Murat having thus completed his well concerted farce, gave up all further thoughts of renewing the enterprize that had been forced upon him; and contented himself with issuing a proclamation, in which he declared that he had shewn the French with what ease they could make good their landing in Sicily; though, for the present, the conquest of that island was deferred: that, however the expedition had answered the end proposed, which was that of forcing the enemy to a greater distance from the most essential posts, while he had occasion to employ the army elsewhere (16).

While Murat was doing nothing but issuing proclamations, Lieut. Gen. Stuart, who had marked with particular attention the conduct of your Majesty's advisers at the most critical moment, perceiving that under false pretences, they persecuted those of your Majesty's subjects who had favoured the English (17); while, on the other hand, they shewed a marked partiality for those who had seconded the enemy's attempts (18); to spare himself

the trouble of continuing with your Cabinet a perplexing and endless altercation on the subject, requested of his Government to be recalled; and Lord William Bentinck was appointed to succeed him (19).

Murat then, who had narrowly observed the conduct of the first in power at your Majesty's court, dreading the consequences of their underhand machinations, and at the same time resolved to keep fast hold of the kingdom of Naples, endeavoured secretly to connect himself with the English (20).

Lord Bentinck, who clearly foresaw the advantages resulting from such a proposal, directed his whole policy to encrease Murat's suspicions and apprehensions; in which having succeeded to his utmost wish, he suddenly returned back to London, leaving to Lieut. Gen. Sir Frederick Maitland the command of the army during his absence (21).

In this interval, towards the end of the year 1811, when it had become evident that

the enemy's landing, so anxiously anticipated, and for which such precautions had been taken to render it successful, was not forthcoming; your Majesty's advisers, and their worthy colleagues, those very men who now so grace your throne with their presence, wishing to remove at once all the obstacles, which they fancied prevented Murat from passing over into Sicily; and quite impatient to see the kingdom of Naples restored, as promised, to your Majesty; at a perfect loss, however, how to get the English out of your dominions; conceived and projected the horrible plan of massacring the whole of them, after assassinating their principal leaders; and then of admitting into the island the French troops in their stead (22).

The execution of this barbarous project was confided to the most distinguished personages of your Court, who accepted the commission with transports of joy; all exulting in the idea that the moment was at hand of serving up the feast to the lobsters,

and celebrating once more the Sicilian vespers (23).

Their so wished-for celebration met however with some difficulty in the execution. Lieut. Generals Maitland, Campbell, and Donkin, had heard of what was going on, and deigning to consider my co-operation as fit on the occasion, they employed me in the confidential department of the British army. These, Sire, alone sufficed to unravel and render vain the dark and complicated intrigues of your ministers, perhaps in other respects distinguished for their sagacity, but who, on this occasion, betrayed in their measures the greatest stupidity as well as perfidy (24).

The plans by me suggested on such an emergency, which, under the direction of the abovementioned generals, I myself carried into effect, succeeded in making me completely master of the correspondence carried on between Napoleon himself and his most

distinguished confidents in Sicily (25); so far as to enable me, by giving a new turn to its drift, to prevent its effects; and finally to frustrate the projects of the former, and the views and expectations of the latter.

In virtue of the first object attained by the above suggested plans, having ascertained that the conspirators had asked, through the French general Manhés in Calabria (26), and expected from Napoleon a general officer to be sent to them, to determine finally with them upon the long premeditated scheme of destroying the British army; I found means to substitute, in the stead of the officer looked for, and get introduced into their councils, a British officer, Mr. Rochefueill, lieutenant in the Anglo-Maltese regiment, and to procure, through his medium, not only the confirmation of all I had discovered by other methods used for that purpose, but also an exact list of the chief conspirators (27), dispersed over Sicily; who were all at the time appointed for their operations to *rendevouse* at Messina, in order to accomplish

at once the assassination, as well of the English residents in that place, as of the British army that protected them.

It appears, and indeed is evident, that Murat imprudently apprized by your Majesty's advisers of their design (28), but following the advice of his prudent minister, the prince of C—C, regulated his conduct in such a way, as not only to put it in General Maitland's power to come at the knowledge of what was passing (29), but even contrived, with the greatest ingenuity, to make the secret correspondence carried on between Bonaparte and the most distinguished members of your Majesty's government, particularly the Cavaliere C—st—r, head of the police at Palermo (30), and the head of the police at Messina, C— (31), be intercepted by Lord William Bentinck.

Murat was convinced that on these accounts the English would put an end for ever to the Bourbon dynasty in Sicily, and that his kingdom would be thus secured to him.

Lieut. Gen. Maitland, however, wished to prove, by substantial facts, the generosity and good faith of Great Britain towards your Majesty ; and at the same time furnishing a striking instance of that prudence which so characterizes her representatives, continued to encourage Murat's fond illusion, in order thus to widen the breach between him and Napoleon ; while, on the other hand, he strove to remove from before your eyes the fatal veil that conceiled from your sight the precipice to which your were driving on headlong, in order to deter you from the further pursuit of an object which at first sight appeared so fallacious (32).

For this twofold purpose, he caused the arrest of the Messina conspirators ; who, on their being tried by a court-martial, composed partly of Sicilian and partly of British officers, and fully convicted of the crimes laid to their charge ; durst, in order to screen themselves from the awarded punishment, defame your royal consort, by declaring her to be the head of their conspiracy (33).

On learning this, the British plenipotentiary and commander in chief, Lord William Bentinck, instead of aiming, in consequence of so atrocious and formal an accusation, at depriving you of your crown (34), made it his sole endeavour to convince you of the perfidiousness of your counsellors; the infamy of your favourites; the fallacy of the measures to which you had submitted; the most proper expedients to make your false friend and worst of enemies give into the very snare which he had laid for you; and the means, which, at so favourable a juncture, he could afford you of recovering the kingdom you had lost (35).

Sire, You prized at that epoch, as they deserved, the wise and salutary counsels offered you. You approved of the plan then submitted to you: you ordered the court-martial at Messina to inflict exemplary punishment on those who had conspired against the English army, declaring, at that time, those convicted *the enemies of your throne, and to the country; impious wretches, and sacri-*

legious calumniators: and thinking your late consort stood in the way of realizing the newly combined measures, you persuaded her to quit the island. Some of your advisers were banished the kingdom; others dismissed from employment; and all those ministers removed from your court, who so trifled with the vital interests of your subjects. You then made over the government of your kingdom to your eldest son, *praising the exalted qualities that adorn him.* You yourself granted Sicily a liberal constitution, calling it *a truly loyal and meritorious nation:* and you professed yourself the sincere friend and constant ally of Great Britain (36).

Thus powerfully seconded by your Majesty, that noble Lord settled the affairs of your kingdom in such a way as gained him the utmost affections of the Sicilians, whose minds he totally alienated from the common enemy (37), and reconciled to your government (38). He thus furnished fresh motives of diffidence and disgust between your Majesty's rival, and false friend (39); and so succeeded in

dividing them from each other in their respective views and interests, as to effect that at Naples and Paris against Bonaparte and Murat, which these two had endeavoured to accomplish at Palermo and Messina, to your ruin and the disadvantage of Great Britain(40).

Sire, In the year 1815, scarce were you replaced on the throne of Naples, when, as soon as the English had quitted Sicily; your former counsellors, and actual ministers, those very ministers and counsellors whose iniquity and perfidy, in the year 1811, you had so clearly detected, and so emphatically acknowledged; and even all their associates and accomplices, who to avoid suffering the punishment they deserved, had dared so to asperse your royal consort, and to force even your Majesty to act a part the most humiliating and degrading possible; those, either such madmen, or such short-sighted conspirators, whose horrid project your Majesty swore to have had no knowledge of, and whom you yourself ordered to be punished in an exemplary manner, though they were spared

from shedding their blood on a scaffold by the humanity alone of the British Minister; were immediately, by a truly new kind of political metamorphosis, recalled from their chains, dungeons, and exile, to fill anew the first situations in the kingdom (41); where those very honours were restored to them, which they had forfeited by their own perfidy, brought forth to light chiefly by Murat, and by him disclosed to the British commanders.

Such worthy subjects, on regaining the supreme authority in your dominions, soon distinguished themselves by the facts and measures, which are here detailed.

On getting Murat into their power, they treated him as any other private individual, and caused him to be shot, as if guilty of exciting revolt.

They at the same time, granted an amnesty to the ringleader of the banditti. They bestowed the chief honours of the

state on the most notorious revolutionists; and those most evidently convicted, confessed and condemned. They, on the other hand, oppressed and persecuted all those, who had shewn themselves friendly to the British army in Sicily; ordering some to be arrested, banishing others, without allowing them the least opportunity to vindicate their innocence; treating others as if unworthy to serve among your troops; or admitting them into the service on a footing inferior to that which they had held in the English army. These very same advisers of your Majesty refused Lord William Bentinck the permission to land at Naples. Through them has Sicily been stripped of the rightful privileges it had enjoyed for ages; and deprived of the constitution which yourself had granted; and Great Britain had guaranteed to it. They humbled, as much as in them lay, all those princes in Palermo, who had shewn their attachment to the constitutional system. Even your heir apparent to the throne, Francis Bourbon, was not less exposed than others to the effects of their malevolence; having been

for the same cause placed on the back ground (42).

Sire! Can the reason of all these their misdeeds be still a mystery to you? Must it ever remain, like the perpetual vow, to be paid to the silent deity of Hypocrates! deign only to hear it. The observations which are here submitted to you, may perhaps afford a key to the intentions of your Ministers; and lay open to your sight all their secrets, their concealed wishes, and their hidden projects. You will thus be enabled to recognize the true principle and main spring of their actions under the following heads, which I propose touching upon; *Their blind spirit of revenge; Their malicious disposition; and Their love of turbulence and disorder, which has all along directed them;* and you will clearly perceive, by this investigation, that your present advisers have induced your Majesty to sanction their above-mentioned iniquitous measures, because they themselves are instigated by the base motives alluded to; because they wish their own infamy to be all laid to your

account; because they wish you to quarrel with your friends; to forfeit the esteem of the other crowned heads; to shew yourself ungrateful to your saviours and best protectors; and to make you appear worthy of the insulting titles, which the bitterest enemies of your Majesty's person have every where industriously spread to your dishonour (43).

Do not disdain, Sire, to retrace with me for a few minutes, the administration of your kingdom. Consider only for a moment the conduct of your present Ministry with regard to the moral establishments, the economy of the state, the military departments, and the various civil and political dependencies. From the sight of what they have done, and undone; as well as what they have neglected, and ought to have done; you will be able to judge of the merit possessed by your chief advisers; and you will distinguish those who seek to betray, and those who study only to serve you (44).

Such a retrospect may enable your Majesty to hit upon that system of administration, which human nature, the experience of ages, the analogy of the times, the bonds of society, local circumstances, and the actual civilization of the kingdom, will convince you to be the best adapted to the wants and welfare of your subjects.

Sire, The rival of your throne was put to death; but did they who ordered his execution do so to render your authority more stable and permanent; or not to glut their personal revenge? To better their own circumstances, or those of the state? Might not the death of Murat have proved more fatal, than his life could have been dangerous to your Majesty! Their gift, presented to you, of their victim's head, might it not have turned out as pregnant to you of mischief as Pandora's did to Prometheus?

Should you wish, Sire, to ascertain the true state of things, you will find it, on examining attentively the whole of their pro-

ceedings. It will appear from the conduct of your Ministers in putting Murat to death; in oppressing and maltreating to such a degree all those, who, in the year 1811, had saved the British army from the fatal danger that threatened it; in raising to the first posts of the state those revolutionists of Messina and Palermo, who projected the horrid massacre; and in persecuting so relentlessly those others, who, in the year 1810, with a view to promote the objects proposed by yourself, or suggested to you by the British commanders, so readily concurred with the English troops in opposing the efforts made by Murat, in person, to effect the threatened landing of his army in Sicily.

Murat set out from Corsica, furnished with British passports, in order to join his family at Trieste. On his passage, opposite to the heights of Calabria, his *flotilla* was dispersed by a sudden tempest. Next morning at day break, he found himself in sight of the gulf of Saint Euphemia. He stepped ashore at Pizzo. He walked up from the beach to the

town, where happening to meet Capt. Trenta Capilli, he asked him if he would accompany him. The Captain answered that the only king he obeyed was Ferdinand Bourbon. Indignant at this reply, General Francéschetti snatched a pistol, with the intent to blow out the Captain's brains : Murat interposing, prevented him from doing so, and thus saved the Captain's life. After remaining but a moment in the square, not knowing, in such a place to whom to address himself, or whom to ask for ; and observing besides that the vessel in which he had sailed, as well as all the others that accompanied her, had removed to a considerable distance from the shore (45), Murat proposed ascending the heights of Pizzo, perhaps with the intention of proceeding to Monteleone. While on his way, a few peasants, headed by the same Capt. Trenta Capilli, attacked him. His attendants were about to fire upon the assailants (46), but Murat would not suffer it. This but encreased the boldness of his enemies. His party at length took to their heels ; and he remained alone, without offering the

smallest resistance; wishing only to shun their attack, he returned to the beach, and strove to float a boat, in order to join with it, if possible, his own vessels. During his attempts, the country people came up with him; and in their fury conceived against him, treated him in the most barbarous manner, and offering him the most degrading insults, they dragged him to the prison in their fortress (47); where his clothes, that had been torn off his back, were replaced by others sent him by the Prince Dell' Infantados; and where he was waited upon only by the English Vice-Consul, whom Murat had appealed to in order to beg he would report his case exactly to the British government; under the sure conviction that justice would be done him (48). The Vice-Consul accordingly, without losing a moment, sent off expresses to Sicily, Malta and Naples, informing the corresponding British authorities in these places of all that had happened (49). Lieut. Colonel Robertson hastened from Messina; and in the name of England, under the protection of whose passport, Murat was tra-

velling, reclaimed him of Lieutenant General Nuntiante, who ruled the Calabrias with his sovereign *alter ego;* and who not only refused to give Murat up to him, but even derided Lieutenant Colonel Robertson's request. —Murat, on being asked in what manner he wished to be tried, answered that the only competent and unsuspected tribunal for him to be tried in, was that of the allied sovereigns; that as they had acknowledged him for a sovereign, to them he appealed: as it would be deemed an insult to every crowned head, were he to be judged by those subjects, who owed him the very commissions they held; and that he certainly would disdain to answer any interrogatories put to him, if it was intended to subject him to such a trial(50). The supreme council of war, presided by your advisers, thought proper, nevertheless, not to recognize in Murat that character, which the sovereigns of Europe held in his opinion. They refused trusting his case to the decision of other sovereigns; and, treating him but as a private individual, they left him to be judged by an heterogeneous kind of

commission, composed for the most part of those very subjects, whom Murat himself had raised to the bench of justice, and the politico-military presidency in Calabria (51). By such a treatment, and by proceeding against him as if guilty of exciting revolt, they condemned him upon one of his own laws, enacted against revolutionaries; not by the one, its equivalent, enacted by your Majesty against such (52).

The said commission having received, and exactly acted upon the peremptory orders sent them by the supreme council; condemned Murat, as a revolutionary, to be shot: when your Majesty, aware of this, and wishing to prevent the sad fate of that unfortunate individual, though your rival, had the goodness to dispatch the most positive orders to spare his life (53). These orders, however, arrived too late. Murat was already no more; but the fact proves the generous compassion of your royal heart (54); and all the precautions observed; the preceding, concomitant, and subsequent circum-

stances of his death; cannot but manifest to you the real motives, and effective principle, that instigated your advisers to treat Murat in the manner they did.

On consulting merely common sense, and examining undeniable facts, your Majesty will at once perceive whether Murat was really condemned for the intention it was alledged he had, of exciting in 1815, a revolt in the Calabrias; and thus opposing your rightful claims; or not rather for his having, in the year 1811, thrown obstacles in the way of your present advisers, who were then wishing to upset every thing in Sicily; and his not having exactly complied with the orders he received from Bonaparte in 1810, of landing with his forces in that island, in order to second their perfidious efforts and designs; and, in fine, for his having made, what they considered to be so false a step, and so deserving of punishment, that of his having separated himself from Napoleon, to combine measures, and act in concert with the Allied Powers.

Sire, as long as Murat continued to act under the instructions of the French Ex-Emperor, in 1810 and 1811, your present Ministers favoured his agents, promoted their designs, assisted them in their undertakings, and persecuted their adversaries(55). These counsellors of your Majesty have since held forth Murat to public detestation, from no other motive, but because he proved unfaithful to Napoleon, by attaching himself to the Allied Sovereigns; and thus defeated the ruffian purposes of the favourites of your court: and these counsellors of your Majesty, at the very time that they caused Murat to be shot, as a revolutionary; exalted to the first dignities of the state, and entrusted with the most illustrious situations of the kingdom, the revolutionaries of Messina and Palermo; who had concurred with him, as acting under the directions of Napoleon; persecuting, at the same time all those, who on that occasion opposed him; and humbling all Sicily to such a degree, that had invariably opposed the enemy's designs and those of his agents and emissaries; striving all the while to set you

at variance with your heir apparent, that worthy Prince, who, studious of the real interests of your throne, of the country, and of your true friends, had shewn himself, on the abovementioned emergency, the awful scourge of the perfidious, the steady prop of your kingdom, and the undaunted asserter of your rights.

Sire, Your advisers persuaded you to treat Murat as a private individual; and thus not to respect in him that inviolable character, which the allied princes had recognized and established. And why this? Was it with a view to convince all Europe that the counsels of the sapient worthies, who are just now your advisers, had acquired over your mind the same supreme and irresistible influence, which Bonaparte had vainly attempted to gain over that of every other sovereign. Or did they seek thus only to fulfil their long cherished wish (56) of inducing the other princes to avenge the insult, so daringly put upon them; and so to ruin for

ever your rightful cause, and mar your most sacred interests.

These, your Majesty's counsellors, in treating Murat as a private individual, subjected him to a law, which he himself had enacted against perturbators; and not to the equivalent one, enacted by your Majesty against persons of that description. Who could have supposed so glaring a contradiction possible? who shall attempt to explain a conduct so very unaccountable? Your counsellors declare Murat to be nothing more than a private individual; and yet with the same breath they acknowledge him for a legislator; and without the smallest necessity, put his laws, as if still binding, in force. His rights therefore, which they deny in word, they admit in deed. What can all this mean? Sire, the talents of your counsellors are of so transcendent and superior a cast, as to render it impossible for any mortal, with his limited intellect, to scan their ultra-sublime measures; which therefore we are permitted only to review in the *Acataliptia of Colfonius*; otherwise

human reason may still presume to investigate and discuss the principle upon which they have acted, apparently in so very absurd and inconsistent a manner: and in this supposition I will venture to affirm, without any ceremony, that the measure alluded to does not indicate, in the Areopagites of your court, that degree of wisdom, for which they take such credit to themselves: but rather, as it would seem, that their so notable inconsistency originated in their having considered, in the person of Murat, two distinct beings, diametrically opposite to each other; the one the favourite of Bonaparte, the other the friend of the Allied Sovereigns. In the former they respected, and would still repect, as inherent, the legislative power. The latter, however, had not forfeited, nor could ever forfeit, his right to that character which the Allied Powers had acknowledged to reside in him. Had Murat remained still faithful to Napoleon, your counsellors would doubtless have deemed it their honourable duty to reverence him as a legislator and a monarch. They only dropped their esteem

for your rival, from the moment that having separated his interests from those of Bonaparte, he made common cause with the Allies; when he happened to be under the protection of British passports; and after his having rendered the greatest services to the English army. What is the inference then, Sire, to be deduced from such proceedings? Surely that these your Ministers, either studied, in the treatment they shewed to Murat, your interests, in common with those of the Allied Princes; or those of the common enemy.

Light dispels darkness, and doubt is removed by evidence. Your Ministers refused to give up Murat to the British representative, on the decision of the Allied Powers! Is not this, Sire, giving room either to suppose yourself and the Allied Princes now reigning in Europe, unjust, treacherous and unworthy of esteem; or that your assessors, in spite of all their eagerness to get rid of Murat, being convinced that they could not have realized their murderous intent in any

regular and unsuspected way; determined, notwithstanding, to glut their own revenge, not caring what insult was thereby offered to the other Sovereigns, or how much they risked your Majesty's personal welfare, and compromised the interests of your throne, as well as those of the nation. Should their behaviour on this occasion not fully evince this to have been the case; reason surely demonstrates that your actual counsellors had every thing to fear from the discoveries Murat might make as to their conduct; and that they had the strongest motives for shutting his mouth, and hindering him for ever from disclosing the secret causes of their aversion to him; which, had they been published, would infallibly have ruined them(61). They well knew what Murat could do against them in this respect; nor were they at the same time ignorant of the numberless *data* to the same effect, which those, who had befriended the English, were in possession of. Your Counsellors therefore, so skilled in the art of subterfuge, so distinguished for their dark and villainous ploddings, ordered Murat to be

judged, without hearing his defence; and to be shot without allowing him an appeal from the sentence: and following up the same plan, these, entrusted with the interests of your crown, took care to rid themselves of all those who had seconded the English; by degrading, imprisoning, or banishing them from your kingdom and their country. The identity of the case is proved, Sire, by the identity of the effects; and whatever is equivocal or obscure, is easily explained by that which is evidently manifest (62).

Murat was declared guilty; but by judges, who had only to act up *to the letter* on the orders transmitted to them by your counsellors; guilty, though denied the opportunity of making any defence; though not allowed to appeal to more competent and less suspected judges; though forced to hear only those who pleaded against him, and who were admitted at once, as *the aggressors*, as *his accusers*, and as *evidence;* who soon after saw themselves, for so meritorious an exploit, distinguished and rewarded; while

no compensation, no distinctive honour was ever bestowed on those, who on more trying and critical occasions had so boldly opposed every attempt made by this same Murat against your dominions, at the time that he saw himself supported by means the most effective, and royal resources of the most imposing kind (63). Sire, did they, who recommended to your Majesty such an unheard of proceeding, intend thus to render Murat's guilt manifest; or not rather merely to satisfy their own predominant wish, that of sacrificing him to their relentless and implacable vengeance.

Murat was declared a disturber of the public peace. But how, or for what reason? Because after a severe tempest, in the hopes of finding some relief, he had stepped ashore in a country, where he had been declared and acknowledged as Sovereign, but from which he had been forced by military events; though he himself had never abdicated his right to the crown? or perhaps, because on landing he suffered not the laws of the coun-

try to be violated, when he prevented the general that followed him from killing one of your officers; who in return for such kindness, accomplished his destruction: or was it because, when he was first assailed, he did not allow his followers to repel force with force, in order to disperse the few aggressors, who had assembled against him?

Your Ministers treated Murat as a revolutionist; but who were his supporters, or what were his means? who appeared with him on his landing? whom had he chosen for his attendants, on his stepping ashore at Pizzo? to whom did he then direct himself, and which of your subjects offered to follow him? with whom had he corresponded, or who were to be his abettors within the kingdom? Sire, your Ministers never made it appear that he had so much as one accomplice, or one single individual in the most distant relationship with him; and yet were seen in your dominions arrests and imprisonments, the most arbitrary and mysterious; while only the rumour was spread that these

were occasioned by the attachment of so many to the Masonic and Carbonarian societies(64). How wide the difference between the conduct observed by Saliceti in proving the existence of a conspiracy; and that observed by Count Palmeri and your actual advisers, at Naples 1808, together with the proceedings of your Ministry, in their quest of evidence against Murat (65).

They gave out that he had landed at Pizzo, with the design of exciting an insurrection, and thus possessing himself of the country, from which he was obliged to fly. At Pizzo! the place of all others in the kingdom ever known to be the most inimical to him(66)! At Pizzo! which he was anxious to quit, on observing that his transport had stood out to sea! At Pizzo! where he was the person attacked; and where he only strove to prevent all disorder, and avoid coming to blows on either side: where on his landing he never so much as hinted his intention of marching towards the fort of that place; which, as destitute both of troops and resources, would

have been an object of easy conquest to him, and a sure means of realizing the projects, on the pretence of which he was put to death. He think of reconquering the kingdom, which a little before, while at the head of an army of 100,000 men, he had found it impossible to retain! though it never appeared that he had taken one single step to accomplish what was laid to his charge; and when he had just learned the resolutions agreed upon by the sovereign powers of Europe, and the great resources which your Majesty had at your command (67)!

Is it thus, Sire, that your Ministers proved the anarchical disposition of your competitor; or rather, that they demonstrated in the clearest manner possible, by the treatment they shewed him, and the doom they subjected him to, that they sought but to revenge themselves upon him for the obstacles he had formerly put to their anarchical and revolutionary designs; which, in the year 1810 and 1811, your present advisers had formed, and were endeavouring to promote?

These also caused Murat to be tried by a court-martial, composed of persons whom Murat had formerly employed; and who, on acknowledging him for their Sovereign, had sworn to him obedience, respect and fidelity. These your Ministers, wishing him to be considered but as a private individual, and to be judged, as a promoter of sedition, might easily have subjected him to a council of war, and caused to preside at such a tribunal only the Sicilian officers, who had never acknowledged Murat for their King, nor ever sworn allegiance to that monarch.

What motive then could have prevented your Ministers from doing so? Did they intend thus perhaps to oblige his judges so chosen, to suppose, or to render themselves, perjured wretches; or, at all events, to form of their oaths taken, the same opinion which Lysander King of Lacedemon attached to such; who considered them merely as a shift made use of, in order to impose upon Princes; and like so many bugbears, to frighten children with? Was it the intention of your worthy assessors thus to deprave the moral sense of

your people? Did they contrive by such a precedent to sanction the right of the subjects to pass judgment on their own Sovereign? Was it their object in acting so, to sanction the conduct of the French regicides; and to shew themselves ready on a like fatal occasion to approve of your Majesty's being put to death (68)?

Sire, fortune, in putting your rival into your power, had given you the precious opportunity of distinguishing yourself as just, generous and truly great; of proving yourself worthy of the esteem of those Sovereigns, who had afforded you their protection; and of thus securing for ever your rights to the throne. They who counsel you, instead of persuading you to make the most of such uncommon advantages, only study to veil from your sight all the benefits that are thence to be derived (69), and seek but to expose you to the inevitable cousequences of all those evils, which such an event is capable of occasioning (70). Nor have they any other aim, but that of affording your enemies arms, and the certain means of supplanting your au-

thority, and ruining the chief resources of your power (71). Hence, from what has been stated, and from the very conduct of your advisers, in their treatment of Murat, it clearly follows, that they treated that unfortunate individual so atrociously, not from any wish they had of promoting your welfare and the interests of the country; but from that of accomplishing their own dark and perfidious designs (72).

Deign, Sire, to consider that the conduct of your present Ministers tends only to cover Murat's guilt, if he was really guilty: to defend him; and to make him pass for innocent (73).

From this you may deduce the real motives they had for putting him to death; because he had proved unfaithful to Bonaparte, and had thus frustrated their projects; not for having attempted *malis artibus* to violate your rights and those of society (74).

It will appear to you from a corollary so well established, that their real view in sub-

jecting your rival to so cruel a fate, was that of making you offer an insult to his protectors; that of making you avenge the cause of Napoleon, whom he had deserted; and that of injuring in the eyes of the world, the cause of the Allied Sovereigns, and above all your own(75).

Sire, The Allied Sovereigns were those who placed you on your throne; and they alone maintain you on it. Had the fate of Murat been left to their decision, your actual advisers would have evidently shewn that they had good grounds for proving his guilt; that they had nothing to fear from any exposures he could make; and that it was far from their wish to discredit the passports granted him: to oppose the intentions, or frustrate the views of the Sovereigns of Europe. By so doing, your advisers would have been no longer under the necessity of sanctioning regicides; of exalting to such an immoderate pitch the power of the subjects; of doing away with the sacred obligation of an oath, and thus depraving the moral sense of the

public; of degrading in fine, your own ingenuous and elevated character; whilst your Majesty, by shewing yourself so generous towards an enemy, become the sport of fortune and already cast down, would have well deserved that high eulogium, which constituted the pride of the ancient masters of the universe:

Parcere Subjectis, et debellare superbos.

In manifesting by such a conduct the utmost confidence in those friends, who had enabled you to reascend your throne, you obliged them so to dispose of your rival, as to leave you nothing to fear, either from himself or his posterity, that could ever after disturb your reign. Under such favourable auspices, what advantages did your stupid as well as perfidious advisers make you derive from the death of your rival?—Should you wish to know? why the following:

" The loss of the confidence and esteem of
" foreign powers: the authorization of regi-

" cides : the inordinate increase of popular
" authority, in pronouncing on the actions of
" Sovereigns ; and the depravation of the moral
" sense : the most intense hatred of the friends
" of Murat, and the compassion excited for him
" in the breasts of his very enemies : the pro-
" tection of princes afforded his family, on ac-
" count of the insult thus put upon themselves;
" and the stronger inducement for his children
" to avenge his death; together with the readier
" means and opportunity furnished them of
" doing so."

Behold, Sire, the real consequence of that more than pharisaical zeal, with which your present advisers were animated, when they decreed the death of Murat. Behold the facts, which, on this occasion so clearly unfold their designs. This is what above all I beseech your Majesty to keep in view, and recal most frequently to mind.

Murat had frustrated the project of your actual advisers ; and exposed them to the wretched consequence of their own perverse

machinations. He had combined measures with Lord William Bentinck, and opposed the designs of Napoleon. He was under the protection of British passports: in prison he addressed himself to the English Vice-Consul; asked through him the protection of Great Britain; and in the name of Great Britain he was reclaimed. Murat insisted on being tried as a Sovereign, acknowledged for such by the Allied Powers; to whose decision he referred his case; and declared that none of those had any right to judge of his actions, who had been his subjects; whom he himself had employed; and who had sworn to him obedience, respect and fidelity. Your Ministers refused to give him up to the representative of Great Britain;—they made no account of the protection afforded him by the British passports; they refused referring his case to the decision of the Allied Sovereigns; they respected not in him the distinguished character, which those Princes had approved of and sanctioned; but treated him as a private individual: and while they might have made him be more properly judged by

Sicilian officers, who had never acknowledged him for their king; they subjected him to the judgment of those, who had professed themselves his subjects, and sworn allegiance to him: thus arrogating to themselves a more than universal supremacy, in virtue of which they took upon them to annul the decrees of all the other Sovereigns; and even to dispense with the most sacred moral obligations, imposed on all men by God himself: and having dared to do so much for the sole purpose of making Murat be considered as a private individual; they themselves finished after all by declaring him both a legislator and a monarch. Admirable and exalted policy of your chief advisers, whose designs appear so clearly developed in their treatment of Murat!

Who, attending to these facts with their several circumstances, and to the observations already made upon them, can miss discovering the truth? But we may here also further observe that your present advisers, always unfortunate in their attempts; forlorn in their

means; imprudent in their precautions; unmasked in their secrets; and, in the course of their base proceedings, humbled even by themselves; in this their ill directed and worse conceived design, succeeded only in setting off to the best advantage possible the conduct of the British Commanders in Sicily.

In the case of Murat your Ministers suspected even those, who afforded you the surest support; and therefore refused trusting your rival's case to the decision of the Allied Princes, the only judges competent to try him; denying him thus the opportunity of availing himself of what evidence he had to produce; and, what was never withheld from the accused, the right of defending himself against the charges of his adversaries: thereby acknowledging, or at any rate not caring that it should be thought, either that the disclosures he would make, might prove fatal to themselves (76); or that they had not sufficient proofs, upon which to convict and justly to condemn him(77). Thus, in as far as in them lay, they made him appear as innocent, or at least as not guilty (78); and, at a time the

least critical for your Majesty, and the securest for the kingdom(79), they put him to death; defeating thus the humane purpose of your beneficent heart, to have snatched him from his untimely fate (80).

Those, who in Sicily had conspired against the British army, were on the contrary left to be tried by their own fellow peers and companions. No means required by them in support of their rights,and to refute the charges brought against them, were ever withheld. Every information, so far from being dreaded, was diligently sought after; which clearly proved that the only object in view was to get at the truth; to make justice triumph; and to secure the public weal. Lieut. General Maitland knew so well to distinguish the proper evidence brought against the perfidious villains, and their abettors; to watch over their attempts, and correspondence; to adopt with the utmost prudence the fittest expedients for the occasion; and to employ the surest means of making all their exerted endeavours come to nought (81); that he not

only was enabled to convict in the clearest manner, the guilty, upon their own proper evidence, without their being so much as aware of the circumstance (82) to point out the authors, with their accomplices and correspondents; but even to make the hardened ruffians blush for their atrocities, which he had exposed to public view (83). Lord Bentinck having thus ascertained the reality of their most base, felonious, and death-deserving plot, he nevertheless spared them the capital part of the punishment they deserved, and to which they had been condemned; and that too at a time when all was full of danger (84).

What a contrast is here offered to the reader, between such baseness, such caprice, the gratification of the vilest passions; such, more than clownish, stupidity; and such frankness, generosity, justice, joined with such remarkable prudence!

Sire, The conduct of your Ministers, in the case abovementioned, proves that they

were not capable of realizing a plan, in which every thing concurred to favour their design; as appearances were in their favour; while bribery and corruption might have been successfully employed, in securing their object. Though so anxious to impose upon the world, and, by seeking to make Murat pass for a delinquent, to have it supposed that, in thus putting him to death, they had only in view MORS CORRADINI, VITA CAROLI; the counsellors of your Majesty neither knew how to conjure up the means of supporting the illusion they wished to create; nor to take the necessary precautions against its detection. What could have prevented their giving out that Murat, on landing at Pizzo, had marched directly against the fort of that place? Who could have detected the falsehood, if in the numberless, arbitrary and mysterious arrests, which they ordered, they had caused the rumour to be spread that such had taken place only in consequence of the secret intrigues and correspondence discovered to have existed between so many of your subjects, and your rival; instead of

declaring so absurdly, as they did, that by those arrests it was intended only to stop the progress of Free Masonry and the Carbonarian Societies.

If your chief advisers really wished it to be believed that Murat was condemned to death only as a revolutionist, and not for his having deserved well of the English, and of the Allied Sovereigns; how could they ever have thought of entrusting with the first situations of the kingdom, the revolutionists of Sicily; and of presenting, at the same time, those who, in that country, had strove to prevent all disorder; punishing, as they had done Murat, all those, who had likewise deserved well of the English army, and the Allied Sovereigns; and all this at the very time that they condemned Murat to death(85).

Sire, The shortsightedness and stupidity of your actual Ministers, serve but as a foil, to shew forth, in all their lustre, the foresight and prudence of the British Plenipotentiary. That noble Lord, in spite of the almost

insurmountable obstacles he met with, knew so well how to keep up Murat's illusion (86); so skilfully to meet Napoleon's every subterfuge (87); and with such uncommonly provident address, to avail himself even of the blunders of your own very courtiers (88); as completely to succeed in realizing the most arduous of undertakings, that of alienating Murat entirely from Napoleon; and of thus ruining both of them at the same time (89). As also that of proving to your Majesty the perfidy of those, to whom you had confided the administration of your kingdom (90); and of thus withdrawing you from the precipice, on the very edge of which you then happened to be placed (91).

In the proceedings of your Ministers with regard to Murat, nothing was seen but the untowardness of arbitrary caprice; of downright folly, and of passions the most apt to deceive (92).

In the conduct of that English Commander with regard to yourself, to your counsellors,

favourites and enemies, reason alone, and duty, shone throughout triumphant. Every other feeling was baffled, or suppressed. On witnessing the blackest perfidy, the most monstrous and revolting ingratitude, though prompted to revenge by the most just resentment; and urged and instigated on to it by the secret and underhand dealings of your enemies, your subjects, and even your courtiers (93); that truly noble Lord, instead of taking any steps against you, or your Ministers, and their favourites; sought but to exhibit, in all its true light, the glory, good faith, and honourable character of his nation. His only wish was to fulfil the obligations contracted between his Government and your Majesty (94), and he therefore only set himself against those who endeavoured to eclipse the splendour, and compromise the honour of the sons of Albion (95).

The treatment shewn to your rival sufficiently justifies the confidence, with which Napoleon, when all his hopes were lost, surrendered himself up to the English. What

would have been that individual's fate, had he fallen into the hands of Ministers so generous as yours have proved themselves to be towards Murat? This last was put to death, with his crime unproved; and at a moment the most propitious for yourself, and secure for your kingdom. Napoleon's ruin had been decided on by the European Princes, and his head devoted to the furies. Those of your counsels, avowing of their own accord their perfidy, durst name, as their head, your late Consort: and at those times so very critical, Lord William Bentinck cancelled the sentence of death passed upon them; and only induced your Majesty to act in such a way as might increase your rival's suspicions, and alienate him from your false friend, in order thus to recover for you the kingdom you had lost (96).

Do not measures so provident, and a generosity so very remarkable, shine forth the brighter, when narrowly compared and contrasted with the stratagems used in vain by Napoleon, in order to get possession of

Sicily? (97) or with his perfidious conduct towards his most sincere and faithful ally, the present King of Spain (98); and also with that of your Ministers towards Murat (99)? As to Murat, it is clear, he was not immolated for the national peace or glory; nor for any advantage that might thence accrue to your Majesty. He was only the expiatory victim of the vengeance of fools and villains, offered up as a holocaust to the honour of Bonaparte, because he happened to be under the protection of England, and to have deserved well of the Allied Sovereigns.

But why disturb any further the cold ashes of that unfortunate or incautious man? Murat's fate is already irrevocably decided; and in recalling to you these facts; in exposing to you the principle, in which they originated; in pointing out the preceding, concomitant, and following circumstances of his death, I had nothing else in view, but to convince you fully how unfit, how perfidious, how fatal and dangerous your present counsellors are to yourself and your kingdom. But if

the case discussed is not sufficient to demonstrate, to your satisfaction, a truth so evident, deign only to attend to the other facts here submitted to you and detailed.

Sire, At the very time that Murat was ordered to be shot, as a promoter of insurrection, the Brigands were pardoned; the assassins were spared; the revolutionists were exalted to the first posts in the state; and all the opposers of public disorder found themselves degraded, imprisoned, or banished the kingdom, and exposed to all kinds of humiliating insults (100).

Your Ministers will, doubtless, have their own reasons, of the most powerful kind, for shewing themselves, on the one hand so very generous; and on the other, so very unrelenting. It is a true proverb, that *All fowls of one feather flock together;* and it is also true that *they abhor and shun those of a different kind* (101): Is it a conduct, remarkable only for this sort of sagacity, that demonstrates how wonderfully great and rare the art of

your counsellors is, in seeking to appear such zealous maintainers of the public peace; and to make Europe believe that Murat was shot as a promoter of conspiracy and anarchy?—Sure it is that to encourage crime, is to foment it; to excuse it, is to protect it; and to leave it unpunished, is to facilitate its perpetration.—But perhaps your advisers never reflected on this truth; or they thought themselves above attending to it; or, perhaps, they had forgotten that the ex-government of Naples had represented the Sicilian Cabinet as having instigated on, and encouraged BRIGANDISM; as being the source of every public calamity; and as a second ARIMENES, the evil genius, and bane of those, who had any dependence upon it (102). Yet, when these your Ministers persuaded you to decree that in future no tribunal should take cognizance of any crimes committed by the BRIGANDS; it was not, we must suppose, their intention to favour, or sanction the affront thus put upon your Majesty. They, doubtless, wished thereby to shew the greatness of their own clemency. Most admirable

clemency to be sure! To encourage crime; to incite anarchy; to authorise plunder, and the unjust losses of others: and then, at the same time, to punish without even a pretence; to banish some, against whom they had no fault to allege; to arrest and imprison others, without any shadow of guilt; to reduce whole families to beggary; and then make them the unmerited butt of their obloquy: What a strange and unaccountable clemency is this!

These so clement advisers of your Majesty, persuaded you to entrust the chief posts in the kingdom to the Sicilian Revolutionists; to those very persons, whom your Majesty had stiled *sacrilegious calumniators; enemies of your throne, and of the country;* and whom you wished to have been punished in the most exemplary manner. What cause could have brought about so strange a metamorphosis as this? What possible reason could have produced it? Was it their own integrity; their wisdom; their zeal for your honour; their endeavours to promote the

interests of your throne, and the good of the public? or else the sad certainty that in all your dominions not one could be found more wise, honourable, and worthy, than these perfidious wretches? Was it their openly avowed zeal to demoralize the mind of every subject; or that, with which they sought to make it so clearly appear that they, and not your Majesty governed the country?

Was it their integrity, that so recommended them? The miscreants! who had strove to excite disorders; and acted the part of assassins? Was it their wisdom that distinguished them? They, who, when every thing was in their favour, could realize none of their own designs? So weak and stupid did they appear in the court-martial held upon them at Messina, that the British Commanders could not help thinking them more worthy of pity than of indignation. The very officers of your own army were irresistibly provoked to smile at their idiotic and ninny appearance: and I myself, who never pretended, on such and such important occa-

sions, to pass for a statesman, or one of uncommon abilities; have, notwithstanding, so often led them by the nose, and twisted them round my finger, that I have truly felt for them, on finding them such complete boobies, and mere children in grey hairs. Is it by a metamorphosis, the reverse of Nebuchadonosor's, that, stripped of their old habits, they have become all at once MEN, CITIZENS, and SAGES; and, above all, upright, enlightened, and calculated to promote the prosperity of those subjects, which Providence has committed to your care? Sire, Their actual political conduct clearly bespeaks their merit; which you will sufficiently perceive from the following observations—*Idem semper est idem ubicumque ponatur.*

Their zeal for your honour! they, who to avoid the consequences of their treacherous machinations, and egregious incapacity, durst, in an open council of war, and in the face of all Europe, declare that their conspiracy against the British army in Sicily, had been

projected and promoted in concert with your court, and by its express orders! They, who thus exposed to the most humiliating discredit your Majesty's nearest connexions! They, who at present only seek to cast all their own infamy on your shoulders! They, who force you to adopt a conduct, which, were not your principles and personal probity too well known, would make them, the perfidious, the infamous, *the sacrilegious calumniators*, pass for honourable and just; and your Majesty the only one in the wrong, for ever blaming or thwarting them.

Their exertions for the good of the country! the good of which they doubtless sought, at first in exciting to anarchy; and now seek in exercising oppression; and stirring up among your subjects the dangerous spirit of jealousy and rivalry; and this to such a degree, as to deprive of their most sacred rights and ancient privileges, those, and only those, who had shewn the firmest attachment to your Majesty; those, who had twice received you when a fugitive; had defended

you when you were betrayed ; and, always faithful and loyal, who supported you in your most abandoned and forlorn state ; making cheerfully for your sake the greatest possible sacrifices. And at the very moment that they were doing so, your worthy Ministers thought fit to deprive these, your most faithful subjects, of the means the most conducive to their prosperity and grandeur ; and, while seeking only to gratify their own private resentment, strove to paralize the national energy ; to fetter and inthral the public spirit ; to encourage vice and the basest passions ; and, in fine, to deprave, as much as in them lay, the people's morals, and habitual sense of equity.

Their zeal for the interests of your throne ! What excellent proof did they not afford of this ; by their so humbling the Sovereign ; and throwing such obstacles in the way of the resources of his subjects!

Such, Sire, are the beneficent views, which so much distinguish the worthies, in whom

you now place the greatest confidence. With what anxious anticipation did not these illustrious promoters of confusion project the destruction of your Allies; and the introduction of Bonaparte's army into Sicily!

Sire, had these their projects succeeded to their utmost wish (103); had the British army been entirely cut off, and their Commanders assassinated; and had, in consequence of such an assassination and massacre, the enemy's troops found their way into Sicily; what would your Majesty and Sicily have gained by the change?

Your Majesty would have been ruined for ever, had you not made common cause with the revolutionists. And had you made common cause with them; what would not your sacred and royal character have suffered in the eyes of all men!

Your refusal to side with them, had a revolution succeeded, would have exposed you to the dreadful consequences of an anarchy,

wholly directed against yourself: while, had you sided with them, and thus acted the part of a PTOLOMY on the ORETUS, unable of yourself to inspire any confidence; or to obtain any assistance from foreign powers; you would have had to fear seeing yourself at last set aside by that very Napoleon, who had such an interest in the betraying of the English; but none at all in maintaining a Bourbon on the throne; none at all in removing those through whose oppressive measures he himself continued to reign; none at all in reinstating a dynasty, which he had solemnly sworn, a little before, never to allow more to sway the Neapolitan sceptre; none at all, in fine, in putting at the head of nations, Princes who might occasion his own downfal; and to whom he had, on so many occasions, shewn the most inveterate aversion; as his conduct with regard to the Bourbons of Spain in particular, had proved in the most flagrant manner (104). But supposing even that the Ruler of the French had altered in your favour alone, all his interested views and principles; and that he had chosen faithfully to

realize all the promises he had made to your Majesty ; had he it in his power to secure to you their fulfilment ? Could he also exempt you from the opprobrious and fatal consequences ; infallibly arising from the vile and ruinous measures you had given into ? In spite of Napoleon's professedly kind intentions to you, did he not even dethrone his brother ? And have not all his brothers been driven from their usurped kingdoms ? Instead of passing among the other Sovereigns, for what you now are, a sincere friend ; and of being by all respected as a legitimate Monarch ; had you, in the case supposed, allowed yourself in the year 1811 to have been hurried along by the turbulent faction of those, who now shine so exalted by your side ; would you have then been considered as that illustrious Prince, that revered Sovereign, which you now are (105)?

And as to Sicily, what would it have gained, had the British army in 1811 been betrayed, or forced to abandon it? And what could that island have expected from

finding itself under the influence of the French Ruler? Facts, analogy, the clearest possible reasons, and most evident principles, demonstrate what then would have been the case. *Facts*, in as much as, while those nations subjected to the domination of France, were all reduced to a state of pauperism and uncertainty, yet forced to make the most painful sacrifices; the Sicilians, assisted and protected by the British Government, enjoyed peace and security in the bosom of their own country, and in the midst of abundance. No one forced from them their children, to expose them to the greatest dangers and sufferings in foreign lands. No one extorted forced loans from them. They were not exposed to the consequences of a military invasion; nor subjected to the notorious founding system; and the tyranny of a police which suspected every thing; whose decrees were final; and the orders of its conductors the most arbitrary and absolute. No contributions were raised upon them for the subsistence of the British troops. The English Government, with a generosity

scarcely imaginable, at the same time that it shielded your throne from harm, supplied even the wants of your Palace; of the State; of your connections; of your very courtiers: and afforded the most propitious opportunity to the people, whom you governed, of forwarding their interests ([106]). The discipline, and that rare subordination, which so distinguished the English troops,and rendered them the wonder of every one; the rigour, with which every, the very least outrage they committed, was punished; the strict attention of their commanders to prevent all vexations, and to hinder your subjects from suffering any violence; instead of injuring them; afforded only in all their conduct examples of moderation, and proofs of the support they afforded to your people. New means of profiting, and therefore new incitements to exertion and activity, which were daily,through them,and,without interruption, successively presenting themselves to the Sicilians; had already rendered that people, who were lately so poor and wretched, at that time wealthy and happy([107]). Messina thus in

no time was rebuilt. Money had diminished in value by becoming more common. The productions of the country had risen in price. Its commerce assumed a more flourishing aspect; and its ports became the emporeum of foreign trade. The Sicilian flag began to be respected. Prosperity attended on the endeavours of its natives; kindled their hopes; and enabled them to reflect, without regret, on the once glorious condition of their ancestors. The British influence in Sicily, the constant object of which was to oppose all arbitrary measures, and to prevent all cruelty,disorder,and faction([108]); had nothing so much at heart as to reconcile these Islanders with their own proper government; to harmonize and amalgamate their minds together; to attach them to their country and your throne; to secure to them for ever their rights; to regulate well their motions; to combine their forces; to teach them how to turn their means to the best account; and, while thus enabling them to augment and improve the resources of their country, to render them a more respectable people; and

especially, by granting them the important right of being represented in the government, to restore to the nation its former character of virtue and renown, which had so distinguished it during the Greek Republicks(109).

Had Sicily, instead of being thus placed under the direction of Great Britain, found itself under the influence of the common enemy; what then could it expect to have been its fate? Sicily, in its insulated state, and exposed only to the attacks of the English, must, in such a case, either have dropped altogether, or, owing to almost insurmountable obstacles, must have suspended commerce; and that beautiful country, enriched by nature with the most fertile of soils, so abounding in native productions, though but ill supplied with manufactures; would have found the fruits of its own growth, accumulating upon it, for want of exportation; which, as far exceeding the home consumption, would have remained on hand a perfect CAPUT MORTUUM of industry; quite useless on the spot that produced them.

The nation, thus deprived of its chief resources, could not help sinking back into the meagre, cold, and painful embraces of want, languor, and disorder.

This however is but one side of the picture; for on the other hand, while under the influence of the continental system, and exposed to the attacks of new, and more to be dreaded, as so justly provoked enemies; who could have secured to it the peace it enjoyed; or exempted it from the hard duties it would have had then to perform? Who could have then freed it from the necessity of making forced loans, and daily contributions; from military conscriptions; from the thraldom of a mysterious and peremptory police; from constant impositions of every kind; and from sacrifices to be made of the most afflictive nature? Sire, Would Napoleon have sent you on so trying an occasion, assistance from Paris; and with all that generosity, with which Great Britain sent you her's from London? Would the commanders of his troops have been as exact, as those of the

English, in paying for their furnished quarters? Or his soldiers so scrupulous in attending to the principles of reason and honour; so humane in sympathising with the poorer sort of your subjects; so very forgiving, as not to call to mind the Sicilian Vespers, of such fatal celebrity to the Gallic invaders of that country? Would they have circulated there in such plenty the money sent them from Paris, as the English did that, so punctually remitted to them from Malta and London?

Behold then the incalculable injuries, done to your Majesty and the country, by those, who, opposing the common enemy's influence, so readily concurred in preserving Sicily from his grasp; and in promoting in that country the British System ([110]). Behold the dire mischiefs, for which the British army, and the English residing in Messina, had incurred the high displeasure, and merited the maledictions of your favorites. These were the crimes, for which they so deserved to be assassinated, and that too by the direction of your most illustrious advisers. Behold also

the mighty advantages, which the Sicilian Revolutionists sought to render to your Majesty, though incapable of realizing their object. Behold why since pluming themselves on havihg formed so noble a project; and relying on the rare wisdom with which they conducted it throughout; they have acquired so indubitable a right to the highest situations in the state. Behold the wonderfully meritorious exertions which they so strenuously displayed on the occasion alluded to; and by which they rendered themselves worthy of such high esteem, as that which they now so exclusively enjoy. Or rather behold, in the facts just stated, now clearly exposed to the public view, the genius or disposition, the designs, and the real character of the men, who are just now your counsellors: GENIUS capable of upsetting your whole kingdom; which could fling all their own infamy upon your royal shoulders; could thwart and oppose even your Majesty; making it thus appear that it is not you, but they who governed the nation. DESIGNS, by which they strive to promote all the con-

sequences of encouraged guilt; soliciting to that effect the co-operation of their perfidious companions in absolute power; these new MIDASES, that figure so ridiculously in your councils of state: CHARACTER, so noted for favouring with unblushing partiality the most openly allowed revolutionists and assassins; and for persecuting all those of a different description, whose principles were diametrically opposed to their's.

Sire, On the beauteous banks of the SEBETUS and ORETES, were there then none to be found, who could equal in point of uprightness, loyalty and prudence, such wretches as these? ought your people besides to undergo so unmerited an affront put upon them by such a choice? Or did your actual advisers still want this additional proof, to convince all Europe that not without reason in 1799, the Paris-Cabinet described the Sicilian government as ever bent on persecuting the wisest and most illustrious of your subjects? Or was it their wish to convince every one that you had no true friends remaining, nor any claims to the love of your people(111)?

Sire, If it is not absurd to trace back the cause from the effects; and in the identity of the consequences to mark the principle from which they proceed; it would thus appear, as if your Ministers had discovered that they who had conspired with Murat to revolutionize your kingdom, were LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK; THE FRIENDS OF THE ENGLISH AND FAVOURERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM; THE WHOLE OF SICILY; MORE ESPECIALLY GREAT BRITAIN; AND EVEN THE HEIR APPARENT TO YOUR THRONE: for these alone, at the time that Murat was ordered to be put to death, saw themselves insulted by your Ministers, abhorred, vilified, degraded and persecuted.

But, Sire, setting all other considerations aside, let your Majesty deign only to reflect, whether leave was refused Lord William Bentinck to disembark at Naples, because he was considered as a personage dangerous to your government; and in

order to demonstrate how improperly you had acted in entrusting him with such unlimited powers at Palermo (112): or whether such a refusal did not shew how much he had deserved to incur the displeasure of your actual advisers, for his having so well defended Sicily ; for his having extricated your Majesty from the snares they had laid for you; for his having accomplished at the same time the overthrow of your false friend and your rival; and for his having completetly succeeded, after discharging so honourably the trust put in him, in replacing you on the throne of your ancestors (113)? Or whether in fine your actual advisers did not first thus basely insult that noble Lord at Naples ; and thence afterwards send to him at Rome a snuff-box as a present from your Majesty, in testimony of the important services which he had rendered you : in order thus to shew the arbitrary inconsistency of their own weak, silly and ridiculous conduct ; to make parade of their innate perfidy ; and still more and more to degrade your sacred and royal character (114).

The officers of the Anglo-Calabrese and Anglo-Italian corps, whom you yourself had engaged to serve in the British army, promising to consider their services as rendered to your throne ([115]). After having thus performed their duty, so as to merit the most flattering eulogiums of their commanders ([116]), instead of being rewarded or compensated, were degraded by your actual Ministers. And why? Was it because they had obeyed your royal orders; or for not having concurred with your actual advisers in hurrying you into measures the most imprudent and fatal? The crime of these officers, was it to have trusted to the promises, which you had made them; or not to have understood that only the assertions of your favourites were to be relied upon? Sire, your actual Ministers persuaded you to persecute a great proportion of these officers; to treat others, as unworthy of being any more employed; or, on admitting the least objectionable among them into the service, to reduce them a step beneath the rank which they had held

in the British army([117]). What was the object of all this? Was it to deprive merit of its recompence; to destroy all stimulus to virtue; to subvert reason's empire, and to forbid the valour of your subjects to be any more at the disposal of your Majesty? Was it to render the British army, more despicable than any other one, particularly than your own? And was this compliment intended to be paid them for having so bravely and successfully supported you? Or was it not intended by such a proceeding to shew the rage of your Counsellors against these troops; and the reality of their project then to have assassinated them; and now to degrade them in the general estimation which they have acquired?

Sire, I have suffered for seven months the most horrible confinement without being allowed a hearing, and without any reason whatever being assigned for my detention ([118]). I was subjected to the most injurious and cruel treatment, and banished from my country for ever; torn from my family, relations and

friends; deprived of my property and natural rights; and, without the least necessary means of subsistence, transported to a country of barbarians; and there left exposed to misery, opprobrium and the plague. Did I deserve such unusually savage treatment for not having betrayed the trust reposed in me; for having saved the British army in Messina from the fatal catastrophe that threatened them; and obeyed the orders of your Majesty; or for having disdained to attend to those of your favourites, so diametrically opposite to your's; so subversive of the public good; having for object only to expose the country to the most disastrous calamities; and your Majesty to the greatest dangers, injuries and humiliations! Were they not enough, Sire, the troubles, misfortunes, risks and losses I had already endured, for having lent myself to your service at the solicitation of your chief agents; and exerted myself in supporting your cause? And was it with OSTRACISM and exile that all my zeal for your interest was to be rewarded; zeal with which, at the most evident hazard of my life,

I saved my native country from all the horrors of plunder and devastation(119)?

But putting myself out of the question; Prince Belmonte, Colonel Carbone, Prince Cattolica, Count Moncada, the Cavaliere Ruggiero Settimo; Prince Carini, that of Villafranca, the Marquis Sorrentini of Catania, the Cavaliere Paternó, the Prince of Jaci, that of Villermosa, that of Petrullà; and so very many other persons, distinguished for their love of their country, and excellent character; were not these so held in abhorrence, and so outraged by your now demonstrated no less illustrious and wise, than tenebrific Ministers; because they had withstood and baffled all the subterfuges of perfidy; and because they would not subscribe to the extravagances of your favourites; and to that ridiculous system of taxation, so new in the history of civil economy; by which a very clear sighted and provident member of your actual ministry endeavoured to destroy all individual right to property, and to disfranchise the nations (120). Or

were these so hated and degraded for receiving with such transport that constitution, which had already plucked off the mask of folly and infamy; making those perfidious idiots, who now advise you, appear in all their true and odious colours?

By inducing you, Sire, to strip Sicily of those privileges, which, on submitting to your predecessors, it had reserved to itself, and had for so many ages enjoyed; and by depriving it of that constitution, which the common wish and public good so required; constitution which you yourself had granted, and the enjoyment of which Great Britain had guaranteed to it FOR FIFTEEN YEARS; did not your Ministers intend by putting the greatest affront possible upon the English; their faith be ever more discredited; and thus to render the future attempts of their government abroad inefficacious and abortive!! Or did they rather wish to make it be thought that your Majesty possessed none of the best and most estimable of characters; or to revenge themselves in the most

conspicuous manner on the Sicilians, who wished so much for a political regimen the most opposite to egotism and caprice; and to the vile and interested views of your Ministers: a regimen, which by authorizing the people to look into the conduct of their representatives, exposed your actual counsellors to derision and the utmost contempt. What wonder then that they should wish Sicily enslaved and betrayed? Can their wish ever succeed? Or will it be to your Majesty's advantage or honour to have sought to realize or promote it?

Is it just? When did ever Sicily deserve to forfeit all its rights and privileges ([121])? After having so sinned in the eyes of your actual counsellors in not assisting them in their anarchical projects; in not making common cause with the enemy; but in having on the contrary proved to you its unshaken fidelity? Was it then your Majesty, or them, whom Sicily had injured? Is it you therefore or they, who sought to punish it for such a transgression ([122])?

Can their wish succeed? A people, who used such extraordinary exertions, to prevent their being degraded or enslaved; who had just emerged from the evils, to which for such a length of time the oppressive Baronial System had subjected them; who saw and began to feel the salutary effects of civil liberty; will such a people so easily stoop again to the yoke of the wildest caprice.

Sicily abounding with ingenious and enterprising individuals; rich in resources of every kind; an object so worth the coveting by strangers; linked by the mutual ties of interest, with so many other nations; protected by so many strong holds and fortresses; the rival of Naples; irritated besides by the conduct of such Ministers; accustomed to political changes, and habituated to privations of every kind; the natives of which can communicate their meaning without the aid of speech; will such a nation lie down quietly, and slumber unconcerned, the scorn and laughing stock of your assassins? Will it never dream of acting over again its vespers? Will it not know those who ought to assist,

who are interested in supporting it? Will your Majesty have no enemy more remaining, to whom the Sicilian may turn, in order to extricate himself from a state so degrading and humiliating?

Suppose your favourites now wield the wand of Circe, and can so in a moment change the circumstances and character of nations; will it also enable them without any difficulty to oppress, and at the same time retain Sicily? May not its example open the eyes of your other subjects? And where will be the advantage to your throne in so trampling upon and vilifying your people? Will your favourites then have the courage to defend it? the anxiety for upholding it? the means of supporting it? the patriotism to make it be respected? the disposition for good order; necessary to settle and perpetuate it? Let every suspicion on that head be ever so ephemeral; let the motives, on which such is grounded, be ever so vain; let circumstances be as favourable to it, and the chances against it as chimerical as you please; were it even possible so to depress

Sicily, and transmit it securely so from hand to hand; would it be considered as fair and honourable to do so? Must we then henceforth call that virtue or justice, to usurp the rights of others; to betray the people's confidence; to insult one's friend, to oppress one's benefactor; and all this, forsooth, because it is for one's interest, or because one has the means and the power of doing so?

Is this then the time of recalling to the mind of princes the project of Themistocles; and of making them prefer their interest to their honour (123)? Has Europe then become so holy in her alliance, as to adopt the system of Obesius? Will she bestow the title of upright and illustrious on a government, which forfeits the confidence of its subjects; destroys its chief resources; deprives a nation of its rights; a nation too stiled by that very government, a most meritorious and loyal one? It follows also that every usurper may sanction his conduct by such a precedent; and that your Majesty cannot justly complain, or call in question the views of any one who may happen to invade your

kingdom, obliging you thus to betake yourself to flight, to abandon your people and to forfeit all your rights of sovereignty.

Sicily is stripped of all its ancient privileges, and deprived of its actual constitution, because it adhered with transport to the new system granted to it! A nation then is to be thus made the butt of scorn and oppression, for having so readily obeyed the will of its Sovereign! for wishing together with its own proper advantages, to secure those of your throne! for shewing itself friendly to order, regularity and justice; and so averse to the perfidy and caprice of others!

Sire, Deign well here to consider, that the design of your Ministers in persuading you to treat Sicily so very ill, was to make it sensible of the egregious blunders it committed in so willingly supporting your cause amidst the greatest and most urgent dangers; it was to make it repent for having resisted the common enemy, instead of seconding their own projects; it was to compel it to give up a cause so very ungrateful and fatal to it, as your's must thus appear

to be ; and it was finally in order to furnish Europe by such a conduct motives for questioning the good faith and character of the Allied Sovereigns. These Sovereigns had promised to secure the prosperity and independence of all those who should join them against the Ex-emperor of France. Sicily, always inimical to Bonaparte, always faithful to his adversaries, that on every occasion had shewn itself so attached to its legitimate Prince ; had concurred so much to the downfal of Napoleon, had so contributed to better the fate of its Monarch, and to facilitate the success of the Allied Powers ; has only been compensated with insults, humiliations, contempt, the loss of its privileges, and the privation of its rights ([124]). It is thus, Sire, that your Majesty's assessors respect the glory of every other Monarch ; your own honour, and the interests of the people, whom providence has entrusted to your care!

Great Britain, for who can overlook it? As the acknowledgment of such great, such unheard of sacrifices made by that power to maintain you on your throne, has been the

most exposed to the insults of your Ministers, and treated by them in the most injurious manner. It was only in your dominions that her passports were disregarded; that her friends are persecuted; that those who had deserved well of her, are degraded; and that her vilest adversaries are exalted. The measures concerted between her agents and your's; the promises made by her to the people; were by your assessors contradicted and rendered nugatory. In as far as they were able, they strove to make her good faith be called in question; to bring her armies into contempt; to injure and affront in the most formal manner the most distinguished and respectable of her subjects: and so evident is the reality of these facts, that it would be the most ridiculous pyrrhonism to doubt of them for one moment. And this being so undeniably the case, you may, perhaps, wonder at the slowness observed, and the inefficiency of the means hitherto employed by the English Plenipotentiary at your court, to prevent or remedy such grievances: or you may be induced to imagine that the rare art is not unknown in your kingdom, that with

which Eneas stilled the barking of the three-headed Cerberus: Or you may think your Ministers possessed of the magic ring, whenever they treat with that British Agent, by which they are enabled to conceal from him all their projects, however clear and evident. Sire, the investigation of this point is nothing to our purpose at present. The conduct of the British Representative at your court is doubtless so regulated from the most powerful of motives; and it is no ways improbable but what we shall have occasion at some future period to consider this subject more expressly, minutely, and in detail. What follows is all we presume just now to recommend to your particular attention.

It is doubtless, Sire, very much to the interest of the perfidious, of the actual agents of Napoleon, to make England appear to have acted towards Sicily, as Lewis the Fifteenth of France did towards the unfortunate Prince of the house of Stewart. This is the only way of making her be considered both by the Sicilians and by every other nation, as the malefic genius of those states, who may

ever after trust to her; and of making her lose all her external influence, and all her credit with foreign governments. Could one, who thought it his duty to attach himself to such a nation, avoid doing all in his power to free her character from so black a calumny, and one so little merited by the sons of Albion? Would you, Sire, who owe so much to the British Government, make that a crime in me, which it is so much my duty to perform?

It suits the purposes of impostors, and the friends of disorder; of the secret confidants and most faithful agents of the common enemy; to make the Allied Sovereigns be taxed so with the GRÆCA FIDES, or their want of good faith; and considered by Europeans but as so many flattering state-harpies; for Napoleon may thus be excused for all the mischief he has done; and admired for what are represented as his noble exploits. His system will thus be longed for; his name will be rendered dear to all; and his empire become the general wish of the nations.

What surer means, Sire, could be pitched upon, to set off Bonaparte to advantage, than that of so discrediting the wisdom, and debasing the character of his antagonists, the Allied Princes? And in what other way could they so securely acquire esteem for him, than by covering these with infamy, and rendering them in the eye of the public despicable, and unworthy of being ever more trusted to.

It is but too advantageous to your illustrious assessors, thus to depress and insult every where the people you govern; and especially those who have shewn themselves the most faithful to you, and the most attached to honour and your interest. This is the most efficacious way to extinguish in the breasts of your subjects every affection towards you; to induce them to act according to the views of your favourites; and thus to depress your authority, in order to exalt the more, and secure their own.

All these, Sire, are the most evident machinations of iniquity and perfidy; and he

must be a perfidious villain, or a most perniciously selfish wretch, who endeavours to conceal such facts, who uses subterfuges in order to palliate or excuse them; and who studies only thus to betray at the same time your Majesty and your subjects, Great Britain and the Allied Monarchs; thereby proving himself to be a promoter of disorder, and every way deserving the people's abhorrence, the indignation of every Sovereign, and the execration of all Europe.

And do they not shew themselves actuated by the same principles, who made you so expose, and still induce you so to thwart, your First-born and Heir Apparent? This Son, so truly dutiful and affectionate; a Prince besides, not less loving of your subjects, than beloved by them, and admired for his wisdom; declared himself in Palermo for the Constitutional System, for the wish of your people, the public good, and the measures of England. This conduct, so judiciously adopted, acquired him the esteem of all friends, and the confidence of your

subjects. He thus succeeded in bringing to nought the design of the wicked ; in warding off from your throne and people the ruinous consequences I have just been mentioning ; in repairing the errors of Government, and thus preserving for you that kingdom, which the perfidious, which your actual advisers, had so endeavoured to make you lose for ever. Sire, be assured in fine that this Prince's virtue alone was that Iris of peace, that conciliating power, which reconciled your Majesty with your friends, your subjects, and your protectors ; and which overturned the deep-formed plan of making your sceptre pass into other hands, and transferring your kingdom to a new pretender of your own connections (125).

Those, however, a thing unheard of before, who had attempted to do this, and who then shewed themselves prompted by such a treacherous wish, are now the favourites at your Court ; while the legitimate Heir of your throne, a Son so well deserving of your Majesty, of your friends, of your people,

finds himself now neglected, and depressed, particularly insulted, and at one period so exposed ([126]).

Sire, Can he be accounted a friend to your Majesty, who seeks to conceal such facts from your knowledge; or strives to represent them to you as the very reverse of what they really are? Is such a person anxious for the good of your subjects, who studies so to deceive you in what so nearly concerns you and them?

Sire, The philanthropic, the loyal, the upright, the generous Briton, will not, I trust, have as yet forgotten, that through the wisdom and virtue of his country's former Minister, your Majesty discovered and acknowledged the perfidy and wickedness of your advisers; of those very advisers, who, though then disgraced, are now so unaccountably seated close to your throne; and from the gulph of infamy, into which their crimes as well as folly had plunged them, they have finally emerged like so many first-rate luminaries of

state; or rather political Hydras of your kingdom. We would fain hope, notwithstanding, that England, which has hitherto held out to Princes her undeceiving mirror, would use her benefic influence to induce at last your Majesty to consider and ponder well such important truths; and thus to secure to the Sicilians their promised independence; to those, who had deserved well of the English, that consideration which is their due; to yourself your honour; to England her glory; and their good faith to the Allied Sovereigns.

It is to implore this, the realization of which is so truly worthy of British virtue, and so claimed by the rights of all nations, that I have ventured to come from such distant countries. If my counsels succeeded in extricating the British army from the deadly dangers to which it was exposed; and in preventing your Majesty from giving into measures the most false and ruinous; if my having become on this account the victim of those miscreants, who endeavoured to ex-

pose me to such risks, with the sole view of accomplishing thus my destruction; if all this may give me some claim to your Majesty's gratitude and that of Great Britain; I have no wish to avail myself of it otherwise than to obtain the object mentioned: which I implore, not merely as due to all Sicily, but as much more due to the glory and good faith of Great Britain; to the honour of the Allied Powers; and to the most vital interests of your Majesty.

Can you forget, Sire, that while assisted by the faithful TANUCCI, you were the darling object and delight of your subjects? And will you disdain here to observe, how, influenced by such stupid and perfidious counsellors, as those by whom you are just now directed, you have become the involuntary scourge of the nation subjected to your sway? Can you already have forgotten that under the guidance of your actual Ministers and assessors, you experienced the most fatal consequences of their measures, most wretchedly calculated, and therefore most unsuc-

cessful? Will you not be pleased to reflect that the beauteous soil of the ORETES and SEBETUS abounded and still abounds in men the most distinguished, not less for the purity of their morals, than for their political skill and public economy; and in persons every way remarkable for their honour and patriotism ([127]).

Oh! may England's friendly influence induce you at length to make these considerations, which are of such infinite and essential importance! Let England be that mediating Divinity, who dashing down, and crushing under his majestic steps the vain aspiring monster Perfidy; and dissipating all the wizard's foul and complicated illusions; may succeed in reconciling you with the wishes of your subjects and friends; and in securing thus the peace and harmony of your kingdom! Of this goddess of peace, let every one acknowledge the just decisions! Let all Europe consider her as its friendly genius? Let none ever have reason to regret their having trusted to her assurances; nor the

friends of disorder to make her influence be discredited! Let the wisdom and truth of Great Britain form that point of union, in which *peace* and *justice* meet and kiss each other; so that every other Prince, warned by her great and imposing example, may be enabled to perceive that it were folly to think that peace can be obtained by the oppression of the people; and that where injustice is the medium and infamy the means, the tranquillity and prosperity of nations are looked for in vain.

This, Sire, is what I most ardently wish in behalf of insulted humanity; nor in this have I any other object in view than to favour the cause of England, the Allied Powers, your Majesty and my country.

With this sole view I still presume to beseech you to distinguish my real motives for thus addressing you; and to trace them attentively in what I have still to offer to your observation. By it you will easily discern the advantage or mischief derived to the state from the administrative system pursued

by your actual counsellors; and you may thus, without any fear of erring, pronounce most decisively in favour of that party, who has reason on its side.

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO.

Sire,

The citizen has rights on government proportioned to the duties it obliges him to perform. Your Ministers, while they oblige him to comply with these his duties, cannot deny him his rights; and should they attempt to withhold these from him, they thereby cancel the obligation he has of performing his duties to that government, which so denies him his rights.

The subject, though constantly beset with wants, has still certain means left him of providing against them. Should your counsellors, throw obstacles in his way that prevent his using these means in his power, they make his wants preponderate; and thus promote the ruin of society; or the subversion of the government; compromising in either case the dignity of the Sovereign.

The circumstances of every nation are susceptible of being improved, or liable to be deteriorated. If the members of each social body are not secured against evil, and directed to their good; their state will be that of a hell upon earth.

Reason, the experience of ages, and the knowledge of human nature have made it evident that the surest way to maintain a Sovereign on his throne, is by making justice, moderation and the affection of his subjects, the basis of his government.

What are the rights, what the wants of the citizen? what the evils to which he is exposed? what the good he may aspire at? what method has your Ministry adopted to secure his rights; to supply his wants; to improve his means, and to screen your people from the evils that threaten them?

Every government ought to teach the citizen his duty to his Maker, to himself, to his fellow creatures and his country: ought to

attend to the safety of his birth; to the conservation of his health, and strength; and their restoration when by sickness they are lost or impaired. Every government is bound to procure for its dependents, the necessary means of subsistence, and comfort; to prevent their being disturbed in the regular and lawful pursuits of their calling; to redress their wrongs; to defend their rights; to reward their merits; to correct their errors; to facilitate their means; to support their esteem in their representation at foreign courts; to dispel their cares by proper amusements; to alleviate their miseries, to enable them to surmount the fatal influence of those evils that surround them.

Has your Ministry, have your virtuous assessors endeavoured to fulfil these duties, which they owed to your people? Or have they not rather sought to dispense them from those obligations, which should bind them to your Majesty and their country? Deign only to ascertain this point; and with this

view to examine the system observed of religion and instruction; of health, legislation and judiciary justice; of prevention or police; of the military, economical, diplomatic, that of industry; the encouraging; the *corrective*; that of amusement, and of the modification of vice necessarily accompanying every society.

On ascertaining the facts, with respect to the abovementioned systems, you will most clearly discover what sort of men your present Ministers are; you will feel the weight of all their worth; and know the nature of their exertions in favour of your government, your people, and your Majesty in particular.

The System of Religion.

Sire, Religion, the sacred ægis of the throne; the immortal legacy and friendly support bequeathed to society; the sole means of connecting man with the Deity, who has bestowed it on this child of the earth, for the sole purpose of consoling him in his sufferings; of directing him in his

wishes; of regulating him in his undertakings; and of assisting him in his weakness; in what light has Religion been considered by your actual advisers?

Did they seek to set forth in all its lustre that divine character, by which it is distinguished? Deign but to observe, and learn what they have done in this respect; which will appear in the method, the examples, the means your counsellors have employed, in order to instruct your subjects in its holy doctrines, to propagate among them its knowledge; to put them in the way of relishing its influence; to encourage them to practice its maxims; and thus to maintain and encourage morality in your kingdom.

As to their method of inculcating the doctrines of religion, the duties and mysteries of a religion, that so loves the light, and hates darkness, because so declared an enemy to imposition of every kind, are all inculcated in the Latin, already a dead language, and not understood by those, to whom it is

addressed. The Almighty confounded at Babel, the tongues of the nations, obliging presumptuous mortals to desist from building a tower, by which they sought to oppose his power. Do your Ministry strive to render the divine word unintelligible, in order, it would seem, to make its sanctity be called in question; or to favour such comments upon it, as are most calculated to promote incredulity; and to compel your subjects to give up paying any more attention to it?

How have they endeavoured to put your subjects in the way of relishing the influence of a religion, in itself so sweet and comforting? Is it with this intention that your Ministers authorize bigotry, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, the scourge of nations, and the perpetual scandal of a morality so pure, as that inculcated in the gospel? Was it with this view, perhaps, that your generals of Alter Ego; that the *Brigand* impostors of 1799, addressed themselves to the clergy and parish priests in 1815, to consult them concerning the fate they ought to subject those to, whom they prosecuted; and whom,

without any accusation, without even a trial, they resolved on condemning and punishing.

What examples have those in office afforded, to encourage the practice of religion's maxims? They have forced your subjects to sport with perjury; and have familiarized them with the most arbitrary caprice and the dictation of despotism. They made the FLAVIAS and the MARIAS, the supreme dispensers of favours; and the fittest promoters of their tyrannical measures .They led the *Brigands* in triumph; granted the highest posts in the kingdom to assassins; and persecuted the most honourable, and those the most attached to your Majesty; removing you even from all interference in public affairs. They were the wretches, and they alone, who trusted their system of *espionage* to the management of priests and monks; inducing them to abuse the confidence placed in them by the people on account of their sacred character,; and thus to betray the secrets imparted to them in confession. They sent these holy spies into the state prisons,

in order to fish out there from the prisoners what most regarded the objects of their anti-christian mission, to be afterwards reported to those who had sent them. I myself, Sire, in the prison of SANTA MARIA APPARENTE, was honoured with a visit of this kind; though not considered as one of the most simple and easy to be duped.

What are the means they have adopted to confirm the uprightness and virtue of your subjects? Those of forcing the citizen to remain unoccupied; of encouraging idleness and wants on the one hand, and excessive power and prerogative on the other; and, by these extremes, of stirring up the basest passions; when on all occasions, every favour is shewn to the great, and every necessary support and security is withheld from the poor!

Your assessors dreamed even of decimating the army and civil functionaries; leaving all so displaced to languish useless and forgotten; of restoring the feudal system with regard to hereditary successions. STAN-

TIBUS MASCULIS, FŒMINÆ NON SUCCEDUNT.—Of suspending the partition of the national lands, of authorizing entails; of causing restitution to be made to all pious establishments, and those of MAIN-MORTE, of their alienated possessions; in order so to prevent the extension or property-rights; of restricting civic freehold; of neglecting to promote industry and national activity; of taking every step contrary to the reconciliation of all feuds and party divisions; of re-establishing exclusive prerogatives; opposing thus an insurmountable obstacle to the genius and merits of your subjects; of favouring too much the powerful, without sufficiently protecting the weak; and thus encouraging the one party to injure and offend, by affording him the means of doing so; and the other to have recourse to private force, in order to vindicate his rights, the public assistance being denied him, or placed beyond his reach.—From these facts, so obvious to the whole kingdom, it is very clear that your actual assessors had in view to authorize idleness, vice, and crime; wishing rather to de-

prave and destroy, than to favour and promote morality.

And how, Sire, could you for once imagine that your Ministers ever wished to favour and promote it; while observing only the present state of the tribunals and prisons; while retaining your public spirit; while reflecting on the measures into which you have been dragged, and considering that their *corrective* plan is the most extravagant; their *ameliorating* contrary to the object proposed; and their *encouraging* never acted upon (128)?

Sire, fact proves more than argument. Consider the number and nature of the crimes that have appeared, since they have been your counsellors; and these too at the very time that they induced you to become, instead of a statesman, the mere dupe of the occasion; and you will be fully convinced that on the score of morality, they have but held out the shadow to you, in order to decoy you away from the substance (129).

Would you wish a clearer proof of a truth already so evident? Look at the churches. Observe how the worship is performed in them; the use and end they are applied to. Look at the ministers themselves of the sanctuary: examine their characters; their qualifications; their conduct.

You have annexed property to the churches; and still they are meanly kept, and shabby to excess.

The priests, they who ought to be the lights of the temple; the chief luminaries of the state; the guides and example of the people; chosen indifferently, without any sufficiently proved vocation, from all the ranks of society; commanding but little or no respect, owing to the immensity of their numbers; unable to support themselves in a manner becoming their character, for want of the means, which their families cannot afford them; and which their services are unable to procure for them; charged besides with the vilest functions of an unprincipled police;

and reduced to seek resources in the family-intrigues, which they carry on; the priests, I say, instead of illustrating morality by their example, are a downright scandal to it; and the opprobrium of religion; the fomenters of rivalships; the author of subterfuges; and the main prop of all public dissentions (130).

Had your Ministers had religion and morality really at heart, what could have prevented them from obliging the clerical tribe to give up all their gothic jargon; and to celebrate the church-office in the language of the country, understood by all? What hindered them from persuading you to leave the Vestries, and rather to inspect the Taverns incognito? from reminding you that Frederic the Great did not think it beneath his royal dignity to visit the most wretched habitations; in order to discover the real wants of his people; as well as the disposition and conduct of those highest in power,? Why not have told you that Solon condemned a magistrate to death for only being intoxicated; and not thereby prevail on you to attend in

disguise at the tribunals, and there observe and learn what the real conduct of your judges are? Why not make you punish in an exemplary manner those judges, who have been guilty of any injustice; as well as the vicious and the guilty; though merely with the view of making others profit by the example of their punishment; and of inducing the delinquent to better his conduct, instead of but irritating him the more, impelling him to vice, and removing him for ever from the paths of virtue? *The prison never made a man virtuous;* is a common saying in your kingdom.

If your Ministers cannot imitate the system of China, where every man, when born, has assigned to him a portion of *the goods of the sun*, as they are called; in order that nobody may want the means of occupation; why not grant at least to every one an interest in the landed property? Why not class each in some useful branch of industry; affording incitements to activity and diligence; and then making you declare with Solon,

all idlers and vagabonds infamous? Why not make you refuse with Cæsar every public office and employment to profligate libertines? Why not regulate the police, so as to render it a prevention of evil, not an incitement to crime; a bond of union, not a source of discord to your subjects? And why not establish moral societies, granting distinguishing attributes for good behaviour; making even an order of such; resembling if you please that of *the cross of honour;* the distribution of these insignia to be made in an open assembly, only to proved personal merit; and ordaining that none but those who have merited this mark of distinction, need ever hope to hold any office in the state?

Who could then oppose the wise plan of reducing the prodigious number of priests and friars, that swarm all over your dominions; mindful that, when only twelve apostles sufficed to convert the whole world, your kingdom does not require millions of such for its conversion? Let the ministers of worship be virtuous, be worthy of the sacred character

which they bear; but let them also be few! Let the altar afford them sufficient means to live decently, that they may be under no necessity of meddling in the affairs of the world! Let the people respect them, but let their conduct shew them deserving of the public esteem! Let the churches be always kept with that decency, which becomes the house of prayer; and the habitation of the Deity; and not be made receptacles of vice, and the *Rendezvous* of libertines!

Your Ministers made you imagine that you have already removed the greatest scandal to morality, when they persuaded you to abolish the Brothels. Yes, they made you prohibit the inspection and *surveillance* of these resorts of profligacy; though not oppose, but rather favour their immoral tendency: while at the same time they induced you to authorize cheap gambling and lotteries, by way of an occupation for youth!!! Which of these two evils is the most hurtful to morals and the state? The latter is sanctioned and protected by the law; of the former only the *surveil-*

lance is prohibited, while its real antidote is withheld! Sire, your assessors are truly geniuses superior to the rest of mortals. We thought vice was rendered the more odious the more it was exposed; or the less its native deformity was concealed. The Spartans made their slaves the HELOTES drunk, in order to make drunkenness be abhorred by their citizens. We were of opinion that did your Ministers see their base subterfuges, and wicked attempts exposed in public prints to the inspection of all; they would not certainly be so ready to betray all their folly and perfidy. In London it is daily observed that the fear of having their conduct so exposed in the public journals, prevents many from committing those oversights and errors, which are so frequently witnessed in your dominions, because the acts of your courts and tribunals are recorded no where but in their archives.

Your Ministers induced you to declare the owners of churches, monasteries, convents, and establishments of MORTE MAIN the first proprietors in the state. And why so, Sire? Was

this intended as an homage paid to religion and morality ; or was it not in order to deaden all national activity ; to prevent the extension of possessorial right to the citizen ; to encourage idleness and indifference for one's country ; the real principle of crime and disorder ?

If it were the earnest concern of your Ministers to improve the people's morals, and make religion be respected ; instead of augmenting the possessions of pious establishments, to the detriment of the national industry and activity, as well as good manners of the public ; why not recommend rather your honouring with marks of distinction, your promoting and protecting morality in your kingdom, by regulations similar to those made for other departments of the state ; by general contributions ; by those very duties raised in the name of funded right and property, and those expended on the police ? Why not divide the interior of the churches into places more or less distinguished and honourable, to be taxed accordingly, as the seats and boxes

are at theatres? Why not establish certain differences among the burying grounds, leaving always a free spot for the poor to be laid in; and authorizing each parish priest to cause the agents of the police, since they must ever be interfering with such matters, to observe and report all those who do not attend public worship; so that they may have timeous warning; after which, if they prove refractory, that the Corresponding Societies for morals, should be informed of the case; in order that such may not obtain their patent for good behaviour; and consequently may not be allowed to hold any public situation in the kingdom.

By some such method it would be quite unnecessary to annex freehold to Churches, to the detriment of industry and social order. The Ministers of the altar would then have always the sure means of living genteely; the Churches would be kept with greater decency; divine worship performed with more lustre; and morality promoted with surer success.

On Establishments of Education.

It is education only that softens our manners; that exalts human nature; that can rescue the citizen from the thraldom of every base passion; rendering him less liable to err; less exposed to the circumventions of perfidy and innovation; and consequently more ready to avail himself of the advantages which government affords him; more fit to distinguish and appreciate their value; more capable of preserving them; more disposed to assist his country, which grants them to him; and which binds him more strictly to her, as to the beneficient Divinity that imparts them.

Sire, They who surround you never were your friends, nor those of the country: but of illusion, caprice and disorder. Under their dominion public education has lost all the ascendancy it had acquired while other Neapolitans assisted and counselled Murat. These indeed were more jealous of national honour and the public good. Your actual assistants would prefer the Alcoran to

the plans of the wisest, and therefore most powerful nations. Initial education was established under Murat on an extensive and excellent footing in all the public schools of the kingdom. Your present advisers have completely paralized it. Progressive education had acquired well regulated Colleges; which are now deprived of the means and privileges they had lately obtained.

The *facultative* branch had been blest with the ablest teachers, and furnished with every incitement to learning: but it would seem as if under your present Ministry the Universities had drank of *wolf's bane*. The *demonstrative* had obtained two Academies, presided by persons remarkable for their learning, good sense, and zeal for the promotion of science; who were in communication with the most distant provinces; and that too in the most troublesome times. Your Counsellors, at a period of more than Octavian peace, seem to have granted the directors of these academies leave to go and play themselves.

The *applicative*, or industrious branch, had already raised new manufactories, and created new modes of industry. The children of the SEBETUS were already beginning to emancipate their country, and to leave her no more so slavishly dependant on the stranger for resources. Your Ministers grant premiums and compensation to whoever introduces provisions into the kingdom; while they prohibit the extraction of all articles of consumption; at the same time do they favour the introduction of foreign manufactures; inducing you thus to put your citizens out of all employment; to limit so and circumscribe the possessorial right; to neglect, and leave in an unfinished state all the public works; to protect idleness and promote national inactivity. Sire, those just now placed by your side are blest with talents and knowledge above all other mortals; and therefore counsel you in a manner quite incomprehensible to all other politicians; or they are else the vilest and most stupid satellites of imposture; and the true friends of their King and

their country must be those of your subjects who assisted Murat.

Sire, The plan of public education, (which, as soon as circumstances will permit, I intend publishing,) adapted not less to the greatest empire, than to the smallest state; the prospectus of which I wish here to submit to you; will render it unnecessary for me, at present, to expose, in detail, the negligence and bad faith betrayed, in this branch, by your present Ministers. You yourself will discover both, on contemplating the actual state of education in your kingdom; the resources which this last affords to such an object; and the means which have hitherto been employed to support and improve classical establishments: nor have I here any further observation to make, except that the negligence observed, and backwardness to promote the instruction of your people, must originate in either of the two following causes; the wish your Counsellors have to render all your other subjects, in point of character, like themselves; or to make it known to all that the

maxims adopted by them are those of every unprincipled despot—*brutify the human intellect; debase honour; impoverish the people*(131).

System of Public Health.

What health-establishments has your kingdom got? How are they managed? What expedients are adopted to counteract its depopulating causes? How are its productive resources facilitated? What means are employed to preserve and ameliorate the species?

With regard to *the depopulating causes*; no attention is paid to draining the land; to prevent the eruption of rivers; to dry up the lakes and marshes; to the washing away the soil by rain and inundations; and to planting the heights and waste grounds. The fetid preparation of flax is every where allowed, even close to the most populous habitations. The public sewers are neglected. The accumulating of filth in the streets is not prohibited. There are no decent privies in any city for one to retire to, conveniently, when necessary. The burying grounds are

quite overlooked. Too little precaution is taken against the first principles of contagion. Against epidemies, so frequent in your kingdom, no efficacious measures are adopted. The Hospitals throughout the provinces are no longer in existence, or they are unattended to, and destitute of their most essential requisites; ill distributed, wretchedly inspected, and still worse administrated. The Lazarettos are known only by name. The foundling houses are little known, and any that exist are miserably directed. Under Murat's government a strict account was kept of all these things; and powerful means employed to secure their object; but the wiseacres that now surround you, think them all beneath their care.

As to *the reproductive causes;* Marriages are but rare; while debauchery is become universal. Celibacy is rendered necessary. Priests are multiplied beyond all bounds; and monasteries and nunneries are endless. The sacrifice of so many girls, immolated to the most stupid of vanities, is become too frequent

and almost indispensable. The possessorial right of the citizen is exceedingly circumscribed: the establishments of industry and occupation are extremely scarce. The rights of primogeniture are established to a degree of folly. The holders of pious foundations and *main morte* are constituted the chief proprietors in the state; while a vast proportion of the citizens are seen unemployed, wretched, idle, incapable of supporting the burthens of matrimony, and rendered quite averse to it, on account of the too frequent infidelities of their partners; and the little advantage they can derive from their offspring; which is rendered, on the contrary, a great drag upon them; while they find a thousand and a thousand other ways of shifting for themselves, and of easily gratifying their wishes. You may here distinguish, Sire, what the French system had adopted of right or wrong on this score; and you will at once perceive that your Ministry has most scrupulously selected all that is bad in their system; and has only strove to root out and cast away whatever good it happened to contain.

As to *the conservative measures*; little or no care is taken of lying-in women. Nurses are thought nothing of. There are none to superintend parturition. In the supply of provisions nothing is witnessed but monopoly and egotism. The citizen is often forced to feed on spoiled meat, on unwholesome vegetables, on adulterated and poisonous articles; and is therefore seen meagre, debilitated, unfit to serve his country, or to labour for any time. Public scarcities are frequent, and for the most part contrived and continued by the monopolist. Civil economy is unknown, or inefficacious, or ill conducted: and the physical rearing of the citizen is quite overlooked. Solon perhaps was in the wrong to have thought that children belonged less to their parents than to the state.

With such facts, that present themselves on all sides to every spectator; what can be said of the health-system pursued by your actual Ministry? Nothing surely, but that it is deficient in *the reproductive* branch; vicious in *the educatory*; in *the subtractive* unrestrained;

and in *the conservative*, and that for ameliorating the species, quite inadequate, nowise nutritious, and most unwholesome. Should your assessors dare to deny this truth, deign, Sire, to make them explain to you how the inhabitants of the very same kingdom, formerly so numerous, strong bodied and long lived, are become so few, so feeble, and so short lived, as they are by all remarked to be at present.

If your Ministers intended not making you embrace a cloud for Juno; if they really wished you to realize all the resources of the abovementioned system; to encrease thus the population, and better the condition of the state; to multiply the forces of your kingdom, and thus to exalt your power; what could have prevented their assigning to each province a board of superintendance for the objects connected with such a system: their making each *circle* or department vie with the other, in point of salutary precaution, by establishing in every district *a committee of health*; in each province *a deliberative*

commission ; and in all the kingdom *a central council of health ?* What hindered them from annexing to each *circle* three contiguous districts, each of which to superintend the others in its turn ; obliging the respective boards of *superintendance* to meet every month in the chief town of the *circle*; there to combine together, and decide jointly on the proper measures to be taken for the preservation of the public health: and to expose in the public journals whatever is by them proposed, with the objections put, and the decisions carried by the plurality of votes?

Would not this have been a powerful incitement for the other *boards of superintendance :* and also a means of acquainting your Majesty with the true state of the wants of each country, and those of all the kingdom? After this, who would not approve of its being regulated, that no one should be allowed to determine on leading a life of celibacy, without first obtaining the consent to that effect of two *boards of superintendance ;* and that no one should make a will or disposition,

injurious to the interests of matrimony, or to those of the *reproductive*, *conservative*, and *ameliorating* principles. Who, with this view, could have opposed the plan of distinguishing the individual, who should have concurred in whole or in part, in removing the depopulating causes; and in improving the *productive*, and *conservative* ones? The Romans granted *the civic crown* to him who had saved the life of a citizen. Why then might not the boards of *superintendance* grant corresponding honours to those, who strive to remove the evils of their country? And why not fine or punish those, who opposing the reproduction and safe preservation of society, should dare to mix in it? The *district committee*, might it not attend to the reclamations made by the different countries; and decide accordingly, calling the *boards of superintendance* to an account for any remissness in the discharge of their duty; honouring with marks of special favour those *circles* that are well directed; and making every six months the round of the countries within their jurisdiction, in order to observe how things are going

on? Who in a word, could have any objection, were it ordained that *the provincial commission* should rectify the decisions of the *circle* and *districts*; and should take the trouble once every year to inspect all the places within its dependence; in order thus to ascertain the true state of things: the real wants of every one; and to make them known? The Council thus fully apprized of facts and their accompanying and modifying circumstances; might it not add thereon observations of the utmost importance; and enact regulations the most conducive to the well being of the people, and the prosperity of the kingdom?

Sire, Had your Ministers followed such a method, or any other some such analagous one, would they not have ascertained the true state of your subjects; bettered the health of the citizen; augmented the public energy; and enriched your kingdom with new and great resources? On comparing however the actual state of your dominions, with that given of the same countries by the

most creditable historians, in the times of the *Brutii, Greeks* and *Samnites*; we are almost tempted to disbelieve the ancient prosperity of our forefathers, when we remark the immense difference between the numbers, energy and longevity of the former, and the paucity, weakness and short lives of the latter. Had your Ministers adopted some such plan as that alluded to, their measures would have produced the like effects; and you would have been at the same time more powerful in means; at any rate more firmly established in your rights, and more respected by foreign powers, than you now are.

The Legislative System.

Sire, He who scarcely knows what the wants of the people are; who foresees not the result of the citizen's pursuits; who is incapable of graduating the different states; the actual and the possible condition of the subjects; the obstacles to the wished for change; and the efforts the people are capable of making to overcome every difficulty; can such an one ever make salutary laws?

Your counsellors, Sire, for the most part foreigners, no favourites with *Pallas*, nor on the best of terms with *Themis;* what laws are they capable of suggesting to you? Either those of mere caprice, of blind partiality, or such as are inspired by the purest egotism; but never any calculated for the public weal.

Should you wish to ascertain this point; deign only to remark, that under their influence, your legislation seems quite a State-PROTEUS, ever changing shapes, frequently contradictory, and always unstable and unsure. Read only Gatti's Collection, and you will be convinced of the fact; which the constant voice of the people, and their satirical effusions confirm. That Punchinello, paraded through all the streets of your capital, with his sack of two pouches, from the one of which he sold on the cheapest terms certain orders, and from the other counter-orders; may alone shew you this truth.

If your Ministers are anxious to rectify the legislation of your kingdom, why not induce you to leave the task to somebody capable of performing it? Why prevent you from proposing the laws of those endowed with the foresight necessary for such an undertaking? Why not trust an affair of such moment to the most enlightened representatives, of the nation; to the two houses of Parliament? Why? because your Ministers prefer those laws that are dictated by egotism and caprice; not those that are most conducive to the public good, and most conformable to reason. It is from such a praiseworthy motive, that they consider it as a heresy, the most deserving of being anathematized, so much as to mention here, on such a subject, the Parliament and Constitution.

Sire, It was only the Redeemer who could recall to life a Lazarus, four days dead, and already putrified. The constitution granted by your Majesty to Sicily, and by your Ministers abolished, is just now dead and

buried. What then may induce you to call it up from its tomb? The knowledge that you have been deceived; good sense; your own personal goodness; the example of Spain, whose Sovereign has been so betrayed by his Ministers.

Judiciary System.

Sire, In your kingdom how are the laws applied? How are they enforced and executed? What effects do the judgments produce? What are the means used to certify the facts, to redress grievances, and to dispense justice? Should you wish to know, deign but to trace the fact in principles the most evident.

The more imposing the public force is, the more the private is diminished; and vice versa.

The former is by as much the more powerful, as it is just.

If private force can despise and set it at nought, it is no longer such as it ought to be.

The thermometer of the force of any government is the observance of the laws of the country; the personal and possessorial security of the citizen, and the tranquility of the state. But your laws, how are they just now observed. Like mere cobwebs, they serve only to entangle the weak; and on a thousand occasions they are broken through by the strong. What is there, on which the citizen can ground the security of his person and property in the conduct of your Ministers, who imprison people without any grounds, and who set the imprisoned at large without any proper motive; who condemn and punish persons without hearing their defence; who subject them to privations and sufferings, without deigning to tell them why, or allowing the aggrieved to claim their natural rights, because the injuring party chooses to do all their mischief under the glorious title of *Brigands?*

They say there are tribunals in your kingdom; but in what manner is their access fa-

cilitated to the people? In the following: by throwing in their way a thousand obstacles and intrigues to prevent their reaching them; while so many State-*Cerberuses* are ever on the watch, at the threshold of those courts, to scare away whoever ventures to approach them empty handed; by keeping thus at a distance the true votaries of *Themis*; and obliging them in their own defence to invoke the furious Alecto. They who apply for counsel are under the necessity of employing seven or eight different kinds of Advocates, before they can enter upon any law suit; *Procurators*, *Agents*, *Solicitors*, *Pleaders*, *Patrons*, *Advocates*, *Assessors*.

The nomination of the judges is made in the most occult manner, and effected through the channel of bribery and favour, frequently of the most open and avowed kind. The wretched therefore, and the oppressed have not the means of succeeding in their claims; while favourites and the oppressors abound in

shifts to carry their own point, and invalidate the rights of their weak opponents.

What tranquillity then, in such a system; what observance of the laws; what transcendent power in the public; what sufficient control over the private, can exist in your dominions? Indeed, nothing is heard of in them, but murders, assassinations. Robberies in all quarters, and in every place are witnessed, the known principles of anarchy and confusion.

Had your Ministers wished to ameliorate, or at least direct properly the course of justice; why did they persuade you not to cause to be enforced the Judge's regular hours of attendance to his duty, enjoined by the Sicilian Parliament in Palermo, and sanctioned by your Majesty? Was not this the choicest expedient, to enable the Judges to hear and discriminate the facts and reasons alledged by the pleaders; to whom was also thus granted the opportunity of freely manifesting their minds, and of maintaining without any un-

due opposition or intrigue; their rightful claims? This rule of attendance was neither acted upon at Palermo, nor introduced into the kingdom of Naples; which is the reason why judgment is often passed on the parties, without hearing their case; or without well understanding their reasons and the real merits of the question; while favour and partiality sway too much and overrule the decision.

Public pleading is certainly an excellent way to come at the truth; but mere moral criterion leaves too much at the Judge's discretion; as King Frederic's decision: *Secundum allegata et probata* allows the guilty too much room to escape. The system of juries, on the same footing with those of the British constitution, was the best calculated expedient to unite these extremes, and the fittest means of remedying the deficiencies in the judiciary branch; of affording security to the citizens; and of doing away with all the difference existing between the high and low ranks, in as far as their respective rights are concerned.

This sort of establishment, which is so contrary to the views of despotism, and so detested by your tyrannical assessors, has been abolished throughout your dominions; and hence it is that all security of person and property is there found to be so compromised. The present Roman poet, speaking of the British Government, ends by affirming that

It has Laws, which no one dares Infringe.

Its people love above all things their laws, and wish only to see them observed; while their efforts are always exerted to prevent every abuse; A spectacle the most imposing and impressive! Their admired heroes and most popular characters, if guilty of the smallest breach of these laws, though sympathized with by all, must submit, and always do submit with respectful resignation, and not unfrequently with pleasure, to their awarded punishment. A meeting of 50,000 citizens lately took place for the purpose of exposing their wants to government; whom thirty dragoons were able to disperse, for the sole rea-

son that the law authorized these last to disperse so immense an assembly !!! And why should not such a people be adopted as the model of all those who covet true liberty ; who wish to secure their independance and internal tranquillity; and aspire after national grandeur ! Great Britain is truly great, because her laws are adapted to existing circumstances, and to the real wants of her people; and these are only so, because they are dictated by those who are best acquainted with the nature, condition and character of those for whom they are enacted ; and because the public force is too imposing to allow the private to exert itself in its own cause with impunity. Your Ministers made you abolish this system, which has proved of such immense advantage to the children of Albion ; and you are now afraid to trust yourself alone in the midst of your people ! And why, Sire ? Only render those just who are appointed to preside over them, and you will ever be secure ; you will thus again become the darling idol of the nation. To accomplish this, redress the system of your tribunals. Imitate

the example of the wisest nations, which grant always the ascendant to the public force, and know how to control the most secret attempts of the private. Examine into the mal-practices of the magistracy with all the microscopic intenseness of a Solon; who punished with the utmost rigour the least fault in the judges. Select these by public scrutiny, attending only to their requisite qualifications and respective deserts, as manifested in the concourse held to ascertain their merits and moral conduct. When they are chosen, let every one be free to notice their proceedings. Pay them well, and watch them better. By following this, or some such similar method, you will have upright Judges; and the judiciary system will assuredly be well directed. The security of your people as to their persons and property will be established; and your government will be liked by your subjects, and envied by foreigners.

Preventative System of Police.

The end of police is to prevent crime, to

secure order, and preserve the public weal; to shield both the subject and the Sovereign from harm; and, by perfecting the civilization and energy of the public, to secure and extend the glory of the nation.

But what is that police which exists in your kingdom under the direction of your actual Ministers. They have lent an ear to anonymous accusations. They have condemned without a hearing, and have subjected to punishment the party accused, without a public trial. They have entrusted the chief management of their *espionage* system to priests and friars. They have arrested persons without any grounds, and have liberated others without assigning any motives whatever for their having done so.

Sire, how is it possible, while attention is thus paid to anonymous accusations, ever to maintain the domestic peace of your subjects? How can private revenge be thus counteracted? How rivalry for preferment and personal rancour be made to cease; or the malig-

nant influence of envy and hatred be prevented from extending itself far and wide? How can thus be avoided the disconcerting in fine and quite upsetting of the nation's welfare. Where, under such a system, is that virtue so very exalted to be found, which can think itself beyond the reach of calumny and misrepresentation? Or who is the subject, who having so short and easy a way to get rid of his enemy, would not profit of it; but rather strive to get the better of him in a less discreditable manner? What family on seeing its head or any of its members insulted, would not think immediately of avengin itself by a method so obvious, short and secure, as the one thus held out to it? How, in such a state of things, can for any time exist that reciprocity of interests, which binds together the hearts of the subjects; and constitutes the surest, the only real defence of every government? What citizen can thus any more delight in society, in parties, in friendly intercourse; and would not rather choose to seclude, and, if possible, render himself quite invisible, in order to escape envy and the

snares laid for him by others; to avoid misfortune; and to withdraw himself from his country, rendered so unjust and dangerous to its children.

While the accused is thus punished without a trial, how can the innocent guard themselves against the secret workings of impostors; or the wicked be unmasked? How, in such a case can the real criminal be distinguished? What has the ruffian then to fear in offending, or how are the upright to be screened by their virtue? In what manner is civil liberty and the rights of the citizen to be secured? Of what use can those punishments be to the state, which afford no better example than that of arbitrary cruelty? How, in such an order of things, can one's country be loved; the government supported; the arts attended to; industry promoted; marriages encouraged; the population prevented from decreasing; emigrations from multiplying, and the resources of the state from daily declining and withering away? While the

priests and friars are entrusted with political concerns, made to abuse the confessional, and assume the odious character of informers, corrupt judges, or double dealers with the public; who will ever after believe what they say? Who will respect a religion, so betrayed and discredited by its own proper Ministers? On the contrary, who will not prefer deceit, hypocrisy and cabals, when he perceives that such are the only sure means of acquiring and securing honours to the citizens? What then has the police become under the management of your actual advisers! The very nursery and hot bed of crimes; the most powerful principle of anarchy; the scourge of the citizens; the curse and misfortune of your government; the stumbling block and scandal of society; the bane of industry and of all the arts and sciences. It creates every where distrust, misanthropy and barbarism. It prevents all social intercourse; ruins trade; discourages marriage; occasions emigrations; foments vice and profligacy; multiplies the depopulating causes;

and mars the very object which it ought solely to have in view.

Was it, Sire, to convince all Europe that the holy inquisition still existed in all its pristine vigour in your kingdom; and that the priests and friars were made the arch-spies of your dominions; that every one not haunting the confessional was represented as a profane wretch and a notorious sinner? Was it for this that the sacred tribe were even dispatched to the state prisons, to take the confessions of the supposed guilty? That they never failed to question in confession, particularly the women, concerning the political notions entertained by their husbands, brothers, fathers, &c. that the Commander in Chief of Calabria in 1815, trusted solely to the information of the priests concerning those, whom, without any trial he intended punishing? that anonymous accusations, and secret denunciations were listened to, for the purpose of forwarding the ambitious and hypocritical views of some, who were more *apostate* from, than *apostles* of the gospel? Was it to ensure success in their

measures to the wrong headed votaries of the most iniquitous bigotry; and to allay their fears lest truth and reason should ever disconcert their projects? Or was it to augment still more and more the mighty resources of your assessors; who, in their forlorn circumstances, can only conjure up confusion, disturbance, groundless imprisonments, and liberations without any ostensible motive?

In punishing the accused without a trial, are not the very intentions of the laws quite frustrated? Is not the effect quite destroyed, which every community expects legal punishment to produce; the sole principle that sanctions the right to punish, and that can arm Government with the sword of Justice? But what example does arbitrary punishment afford to the people? That only of caprice and oppression. Against whom, in this case, is the public hatred excited? Certainly gainst the arbitrary inflicter of the punishment, and the government authorizing him to inflict it; not against the crime, which has never been

made known. Such punishment, therefore, tends only to stir up the subjects against the government. Your Ministers, Sire, found their labours long suspended and their views impeded by that plaguy constitution. They have their own wicked designs to accomplish; their caprices are numerous; their wants are endless; and the method they have adopted affords them the opportunity, and presents them with the means, of profiting by daily arrests to forward the capricious views of favourites, to punish the innocent, for the guilty.

If you wish, Sire, to abridge your reign, you have only to continue the present system. But all this regards only the *high police;* what idea are we to form to ourselves next of the town and country and health regulations? Your Ministers, Sire, have most scrupulously retained all that was bad in Bonaparte's system; and which the circumstances, under which it was adopted, had probably introduced. But all that was good for any thing in it has been as carefully

rejected. His system, however, had much ameliorated the state of the rural, civil and health police in your kingdom. But your actual assessors have thought such objects far beneath their high consideration. These wish only to extend to the utmost the powers of an arbitrary police; and thus to give full scope to their caprice so beneficient, so sublime, and so incomprehensible.

How have they attended to the portioning out of the lands; to the keeping in proper repair the streets, the rivers, the bridges; to the planting of the heights and waste grounds; to the promotion of agriculture and industry? What have they contributed towards the embellishment or convenience of the cities? What means have they used conducive to the civilization of the people in the several provinces? By what expedients have they endeavoured to better and preserve the public health, and to improve the establishments belonging to that department? They have adopted every measure the most subversive of all these objects.

Sire, were you to substitute a truly judiciary police to the arbitrary and ruinous one now in force; were you to cause more attention to be paid in your dominions to the rural, civic and *hygienic* institutions; you would thus indeed mar the caprice and mad measures of your present counsellors; but you would secure for ever, and very much enhance your own glory, as well as the dignity and prosperity of the people committed to your care.

Military System.

Sire, there are excellent institutions in your kingdom for teaching the military and naval arts; and calculated to furnish the country with skilful commanders by sea and land. Annibal, however, smiled at the philosopher giving lessons on the art of war, without his having ever witnessed a battle.

You are not ignorant of the military glory acquired by the ancient Greeks, Samnites and Brutians. You will recollect what a noble figure the Sicilian army made under the

command of its leader Tancred in Palestine. You have observed how much your commander Carraciolo made himself be admired by all; how he excited the rival jealously of the most illustrious admirals in Europe; and shewed himself, not without reason, their formidable antagonist. You will also remember the figure your army cut in 1797, when commanded by a foreigner; and how it behaved in 1814, after so distinguishing itself in Spain and Poland, and in its disastrous retreat from Russia. Would you wish to know the cause of so striking a difference in its conduct? Deign then to learn it, and first to reflect, that every army chooses rather to fight under the direction of their own fellow countrymen and citizens; and that yours then was all along commanded by foreigners; and foreigners, whom it had frequently observed actuated by the basest passions; and bent on objects beyond their power to attain: by foreigners too, whom it had found incapable of managing it properly; no ways interested in its welfare; and to whom, in consequence, it could have no attachment;

in whom it could place no confidence; and for whom it could harbour no esteem. Can any good be expected of an army, which is daily insulted and ill used; which has nothing to hope for; whose energy is crushed; whose spirit is broken; which is deprived of every incitement to valour, and of every motive for relying on its chiefs?

Sire, you are in want of an army to defend your rights, and to preserve the peace and happiness of your subjects. But how can you expect the soldier to do his duty, if you allow him not to aspire after preferment; and thus engage him to prove himself meritorious; if his country affords him no reasons for loving it, nor the enemy for his opposing him? If the generals, who command him, have nothing in them to inspire him with that degree of confidence, which disposes his mind to great exertions? While exclusive rights to preferment exist; while the silly offspring of a proud nobility are placed at the head of the military department; and the least worthy are thus

advanced, while the most deserving are always kept in the rear; can your Ministry ever expect that the soldiers will dream of honour, or merit? Three hundred Spartans in the pass of the *Thermopylæ* withstood a million of enemies. The Romans made themselves the lords of the universe. Your Samnites made those very Romans pass under the yoke. But the first were the dear objects of their country's love; the second were encouraged by the agrarian law; and the last by their rivalry in merit, which gave them the right of choice, and a preference in love.

Can the Neapolitan soldier love at present his country, while it subjects him to much trouble without allowing him any adequate advantage; while he is exposed to frequent insults, without leaving him the least hope of glory; while he has to endure much fatigue, without any compensation; and is exposed to constant dangers, without any flattering expectations? What lands were ever grantedby your assessors to the soldiery? Or what property are they allowed to possess?

What advantage does the conduct of your Ministers yield to them; and of what use can the acquisitions be to them which they strive to make at the expence of their lives? By what means do you keep up their emulation? excite their thirst for glory? and make them shrink from infamy?

Sire, The Russian soldier was never known to desert; and that, because every soldier is a husbandman. The property he holds attaches him to his Sovereign; and chains him to his country.

The Lacedemonians, Athenians, Thebans, Macedonians, and inhabitants of the most renowned states in Greece; the Romans too, as long as they enjoyed a portion of the goods of their country; were the best soldiers in the universe. A mere handful of such was sufficient to strike terror into the slavish millions, whom a Darius or a Xerxes led on against them; and the Roman name alone decided the fate of battles, and secured victory.

The ruin of Carthage, the decay of Greece, and the downfal of Rome took place only when their respective troops had become mere mercenaries; and when their country had ceased to hold out to them motives sufficiently strong to induce them to risk themselves for its advantage.

Would you wish your people to interest themselves in your defence? Strengthen then their patriotism by every means in your power. Find out, with that view, Ministers whose main interest and wish is to render your sway moderate and just; and who will prefer dividing among your soldiery the honours and property of the nation, rather than leave them in the hands of most fantastical and useless possessors.

Sire, To prevent his country's glory from being eclipsed, the Briton has cheerfully submitted to the greatest sacrifices. And why? That DIEU ET MON DROIT, *God and my right*, which he ever, and with so much reason, repeats, is to him the sure pledge of his rights; which renders so truly

dear to him his country; and so deservedly prompts him to defend it. Were any system adopted in your kingdom capable of producing such an effect, there would not then be wanting among your subjects those who would think it their glory and duty to risk their lives, when necessary, in your defence; and did your reign appear of such advantage to your people, every other nation, instead of overawing you, would be found utterly incapable of injuring you.

If you wish for brave armies, and real warriors in abundance; attend well to their physical comfort and moral conduct. Place every one in a soldier-like situation. Let your troops be regularly fed, and properly equipped. Pay them punctually: direct their affections to true glory; and inspire them with the noblest sentiments as to social order, discipline, subordination, and that greatness of mind, which never hesitates to fly to the assistance of the unfortunate; but which scorns the insolent threats of the haughty. In 1797, your army was ordered to the

attack, when most of the men had been three days fasting!!!

In Palermo, instead of soldiers, your troops were only a ragged crowd of poor starved wretches; till the British commander fed and clothed them. Their officers were left for whole years without pay or any resources whatever; obliged to make the most despicable figure, if not to have recourse to the vilest shifts for a livelihood. And it was only the British Minister at last, who pitying the unmerited rigour of their lot, so generously took upon himself to pay them. Could you then, Sire, have any reason to suppose that either soldiers or officers so neglected, would cheerfully sacrifice themselves in support of a government, from whom they received such unworthy treatment? Can a truth so public, and of such importance as this, be still unknown to you? And were they not your actual assessors, who promoted all this disorganization? And did they not thus endeavour to undermine your authority? Were they not, and are they not

still those, who by their injustice and caprice destroy all the patriotism of your people, and all the social virtues which ever accompany it!

Every thing is regular in the course of nature, and passes only gradually from one extreme to the other. Of effeminate and voluptuous citizens you expect in vain to form in a moment hardy and well disciplined soldiers: and it is clear that unless the country's defenders be such, they are ill able to support the measures of government. Charles the Twelfth with only eight thousand Swedes, destroyed an army of a hundred thousand Muscovites, then but novices in the art of war. The strength of every government is always in proportion to the number of its defenders, and to their aptitude for doing their duty.

Did your counsellors wish to furnish out for you a sufficient force, well ordered, fit to support the measures of their country, and at the same time of little or no burthen to the state; why do they not persuade you to adopt

the establishments of Charles the Ninth of Sweden, which made the whole country, as it were, a seminary of soldiers; and which upheld so long, in the midst of his misfortunes, the celebrated Charles the Twelfth? Napoleon was able to place Europe in the most formidable military attitude. With his civil and provincial enlistments, and with his annual conscriptions, though forced under the circumstances of an existing war, he succeeded in embodying troops sufficient to make head against all the forces of Europe; and could renew his armies in a moment, after enduring the most disastrous defeats. He for this purpose knew how to graduate the different states of the subjects, from the citizen to the soldier; he knew how to inspire his warriors with the love of glory, and to engage the citizens to support national enterprize. His civil enlistments were made only from the list of proprietors; and their progressive movements from the country to head quarters, from these to the provinces, and from the provinces to the frontiers of the kingdom, were only gradual preparations

towards the acquiring of true warlike aptness by the citizen; and the rewards, honours and compensations in territorial domain which he conferred, served only to excite the enthusiasm, and inflame the zeal of his troops for the service.

This plan, modified in some respects, might enable you to recruit and improve your armies; and thus greatly to extend your power. Your Ministers however think it were folly to adopt any thing good of Bonaparte's system. They imagine they have done enough in retaining all that was bad in it, which pleased them more, and suited much better their purpose, namely, *the spy system and arbitary power of the police.*

System of Economy.

What are the resources afforded by this branch to your kingdom; or *whence are they derived?* How are the burthens of the state proportioned to the advantages it grants to each of its members? With what corresponding exactness and regularity are the

public funds employed? The productive arts quite discouraged; the ameliorating impeded with endless obstacles; commerce obstructed, and almost entirely passive; what resources can these produce in such a state?

Cast an eye, Sire, on the map of the computed territory of your kingdom; and you will find that more than two thirds of it is in an uncultivated, waste and barren state. Observe only the balance of the *customs*: and you will perceive that the *imports* in your dominions are far greater than the *exports;* that these last consist wholly of raw materials, and are almost always made in foreign bottoms; while the first, for the most part are in a manufactured state. Consider that all the fashions in the country, and the pomp of your court, are supplied with exotic commodities, and articles of foreign manufacture (133).

Whence are your kingdom's resources derived? From inverting and misplacing the

load laid on *the horse of economy*, the emblem assigned of the Customhouse branch by the best known Economists. Would you wish a proof of this? Consider then how small the public revenue is; how destitute your government is of means; on which account agriculture, industry and commerce must be checked, as they really are; since the duties laid on by the state, do not weigh equally on the various means of the citizen; since they are no ways proportioned to the abilities of each; since they have no corresponding proportion with one another; do not mutually support each other; are ill connected, ill arranged, and ill combined in all their parts.

How are these resources employed? The most imperious wants are quite overlooked, and the least urgent alone attended to; while the most extravagant excess in point of expenditure takes place to support capricious and hurtful measures. Should you wish to be convinced of this fact; look at your own very decrees; and observe the fatal

ascendancy which the basest passions have thence gainedon the minds of your subj ects: at the same time be pleased to notice the political establishments of your kingdom. Should you wish still some stronger evidence, and a *matter-of-fac proof* of the wretched management in the economical branch; behold such evidence and such proof in the suppression of the national industry; in the indigence, idleness and inactivity of your people. Should you be desirous to ascertain the ignorance on this score of these same ministers, who assisted you formerly, and who at present advise you; recollect that your banks failed twice in the course of ten years; that in Sicily you had no means of support, till England agreed to furnish your subsidies; that though yonr motives for expending are exceedingly diminished, still the load of taxes is no lighter; while the home commodities have fallen in price; the value of money is enhanced; and public misery greatly encreased. If you look at the condition of the civil landholder, you will find hat those holding property in *morte main* are

the chief proprietors of the kingdom; and, these excepted, you can observe no reciprocity of interest, no link of mutual support, no motives of encouragement among the other proprietors and land holders. Should you reflect on the principles of economy, and the decrees you were induced to promulgate respecting hereditary succession, the suspension of the *census* to be made of the national property, enfeoffments, commerce, and the restitution of property to pious foundations; you will plainly discover that your Ministers are either completely ignorant of the science of political economy; or a set of egotists the most fatally ruinous to your people.

Sire, If your most high and worthy assessors were truly anxious to regulate properly all that regards the civil economy; why did they make you annul the constitution, already introduced into Sicily? Did they not thereby deprive you of all those lights which the wisest in your kingdom, the representatives of the different communities, could

have lent you on the subject? Are not these representatives better acquainted than any others with the true state of their fellow citizens, whom they have constantly before their eyes? Are they not fully aware of their circumstances; do they not know to the very bottom, their character, wants, resources, industry, together with the qualities and most advantageous uses, of which their own proper territory is susceptible? And are not these therefore the most fit to activate and turn their means to the best possible account; and to take advantage of the resources, which the country is capable of affording you?

Sire, In spite of that *ignis fatuus*, which instead of pure light your actual assessors are constantly holding forth to you; they cannot deny but what England is, in point of political economy, the first nation in the Universe. Your own banks have more than once failed. The other European Princes have found themselves without the most necessary means to accomplish their ends; and were under the absolute necessity of

having recourse to Great Britain, for subsidies; and this last power assisted all; furnished them with every thing; completed at the same time in the handsomest manner all her own designs and engagements; and, after making such great and generous sacrifices in the common cause; after being at such an enormous expence; her banks have still augmented in credit; and the pomp and splendor of her nobility and citizens is prodigiously enhanced; while her means of supporting such, are more abundant than ever. From what magical fountain can such surprising resources proceed? If you wish to know, from *her House of Commons.* It is in the debates which her Minister of the Exchequer has to meet there, and in the qualifications of the members impowered to lay on, investigate and direct the public expenditure, that the interests of her people and government are secured; that her civil economy is *sublimated* or rectified; the principles of which being thus purified and cleared up, produce consequences the most advantageous to the public; and the most

conducive towards the multiplication of the national resources.

Had such a system continued, as that which at one time was introduced into your dominions, what then would have happened to your counsellors, your actual Ministers? Precisely that which happened to Æsop's Jay; they would have been thus stripped of their borrowed plumes, and exposed quite naked to the public derision. These blood suckers would not have been able so easily to drain the substance of your subjects, to be used by them only in supporting their iniquitous measures, and in augmenting the resources of their vilest favourites. Had such been the case, they could not have so misapplied the system of the customs and taxes; nor have promulgated on that head decrees so inimical to the arts, industry, the commerce and every public resource. The possessorial right would then have been extended as much as possible, instead of being, as it now is, restricted within the narrowest bounds. The *census* on national property would have been

insisted on, not prohibited. Then would have been for certain realized the triumph of *Astrea*, of reason, and of your glory. But your Ministers, these geniuses of so high an order, could not but think themselves affronted, should such vile mortals as the representatives of the people be allowed to submit to them their vulgar common sense, and request attention to be paid to their observations. The very names of Parliament and Constitution must work up, and not without reason, their overflowing bile to the highest pitch.

Sire, It would seem, the mistake is yours. Could you ever suppose, that such sublime beings, creatures of so rare an order in *the class of animals*, would ever stoop so low as to attend to such vile objects as those regarding public economy?

The actual state of things; the progressive depauperization of your people; the public failure and discredit of the whole nation; these projects, so new and extraordinary, proposed by your counsellors in the Sicilian

Parliament; the measures, which in our opinion, so deaden and destroy the arts, and industry, and which are now acted upon in Naples; the penury, scarcity, and monopoly, which accompanied you thither on your return to your capital, and made its inhabitants consider your aspect as that of a petrifying political *Medusa*, capable of turning to rock the richest and most fertile of soils, and making its wealthiest productions all vanish in a moment; all this, Sire, are only the consequences of what was brought to pass at the time that the soaring minds of your actual counsellors were wheeling their course along the empty space; and hatching on the *Scorpion*, their high and mysterious police; or while descending to the darkest regions of *Erebus*, they were settling with the Furies the period of the return of these to earth. To avoid all further mistakes, by committing the management of such lowly concerns to those who will not be ashamed of the office; and without disturbing these lofty geniuses in their sublime occupations; leave them, Sire, in the company more congenial to them, of

Atis, Tisiphone and *Alecto;* and find out in their stead from among your subjects, persons more studious of economy; not such gloomy ruffians, from whose measures no future good is to be looked for; and, on your discovering such, be pleased to remind those, whom you have chosen, that pious establishments should have nothing more to do with temporal power of any kind; but must wholly depend on the discharge of religious duties for their subsistence; and that only in as far as their discharge of such is conducive to morality, and nowise promotive of vice. The Angels, the Saints, and the souls of the blest, were never known to descend on earth to till the grounds; nor do they need to busy themselves in such worldly concerns, in order to dispel the *tædium* of idleness, or to divert them from evil. Such labours are only those of poor sinful mortals; and they must be quite neglected and marred in your kingdom, if estates are thus annexed and consecrated to churches, and the citizen thereby deprived of the means and motives of exerting his industry. Deign also to remind your new chosen

economists, that though they may not be able in the present circumstances to enact the Roman *agrarian* law, nor to adopt the Chinese system of portioning out among all *the goods of the Sun;* they can doubtless very much extend the *census* of the national domain; and oblige the Barons, either to see cultivated the large tracts of land which they hold; or, (what would be for their own proper advantage,) in order to secure the produce, to let out their lands to others, who have none of their own. When any one in Spain, holding enfeoffments, leaves for two successive years in a waste state grounds, which had formerly been under tillage or culture; the first who plants a vine branch in them, and thus shews his readiness to turn them into use, may claim them for the future as his own. A system so well calculated as this to promote agriculture and excite to labour, would be an expedient well worth your adopting in your kingdom; companies too might be established in every province for the purpose of combining the joint efforts of your subjects, and of thus multiplying the resources

of your government. Such companies could then determine on the means of supplying the people's wants in times of scarcity; of facilitating and ameliorating the method of labour; they might occupy themselves usefully in enforcing the laws of reciprocal engagements between the chief proprietors and the tenantry; in representing to the economical society whatever may be wanting for the promotion of commerce in their proper department; with the method and means of supplying these in the quickest manner possible; and in fine they might attend to mechanical instruction; to the merits of those who distinguish themselves in it; to the forwarding of learners to the best cultivated provinces, in order there to acquire more readily a proper knowledge of it; and to the system of laying on duties in the manner the most advantageous, the least troublesome; and the most expeditious in recovering the amount.

Diplomatic System.

Sire, Bacon Lord Verulam, and before his time, your own Bernardin Telesio assure

us that the best way to discover truth, is to look for the cause in its effects. Newton was able by this method to penetrate into the most hidden secrets of nature; and to contemplate her unveiled, and face to face. Would you wish to know by the same method the efficiency of the diplomatic system, adopted by your actual Ministry to represent your Majesty at foreign courts? Observe it in the negotiations that took place when these said Ministers happened to be your advisers. What a figure did you make, Sire, in your late coalition with France, England, and Russia? What sort of character did your government then betray? What objects had it in view? What were the results it brought about? Let me rather, Sire, pass over this article in silence.

Diplomacy, the art of all others, the most essentially requisite to every nation, how is it managed and established by your present counsellors? By what means is the national representation supported and improved?

Sire, unless in your dominions the case of a Solomon should become quite common, and the prodigy be repeated of supernatural wisdom infused; it were absolutely impossible for us ever to comprehend whence your diplomatists can derive the skill of setting forth to advantage, the favourable circumstances of your people, and of keeping out of sight their less favourable ones; in order thus to make them be respected, and even dreaded by the stranger. In your kingdom there are no institutions for this necessary branch of knowledge. Those chosen to represent you, are very often so, without dreaming or having ever dreamed of the business; without having any liking to it; and without having endeavoured to acquire the knowledge necessary for the proper discharge of the duty, which they are all at once chosen to perform. They never have visited foreign courts. They are unacquainted with the connections, the resources, the defects of such; on which account they become, and that not unfrequently, the laughing stocks and game of those with whom they enter upon

state affairs, manage treaties, and keep up a correspondence.

Sire, an art so essentially necessary to every government, on which the rise and fall of states and empires so much depends, requires without doubt the most adequate theory, and the exactest practice to ensure success in its object. Your actual Ministers have paid very little attention to either. They might, if they had pleased, have established societes ; appointed circles ; and made diplomatic competitions be held for that purpose. They might well graduate the difference of merit ; and choose the ablest individuals from every class of society ; annulling for ever the exclusive rights and privileges, and regulating their choice by public competition ; acknowledging for merit only that which is proved to be such by substantial facts ; by eminent services rendered to the public ; by moral qualifications well authenticated ; by talents and capacity acknowledged superior on account of their public and undeniable achievements. These might also ordain that no diplomatist

could be made all at once a chief representative in any place, without having first served in an inferior capacity, and for a given time, in three different cabinets; and after all this, it might very well be settled that the whole expence attending the national representation, should always be defrayed by the nation at large.

System of Encouragement.

How is merit at present encouraged in your kingdom; and the citizens stimulated to virtue? Is it by exclusive rights? By the exaltation of the stupid; of strangers; of the perfidious? By making the most virtuous, wise and worthy of your subjects serve only as footstools to such ambitious wretches? By degrading those, whom you had promised to remunerate, the friends of the British army in Sicily? By persecuting all those others, who had acquired the esteem of the public; and then favouring the brigands and assassins.

The most eminent in the arts and sciences were those who disliked most your govern-

ment in 1799, since they were the worst treated by your Ministry. Virtue, therefore, was then injured and oppressed.

At present this same Ministry persecutes all those, who cannot adapt themselves to its stupidity, bad faith and perfidity. It dismisses therefore from their situations the most worthy and virtuous individuals; and substitutes in their stead the most incapable, and often the most iniquitous ones.

Is merit then in your kingdom transmitted to every one from the cradle; and wisdom acquired only by inspiration? for the former is no more gained by magnanimous enterprises, nor the latter by study and experience? Can vice then have always motives to hope; and must virtue, henceforth, drop all her pretensions? Are the virtuous, the worthy, the enlightened citizens, to be considered now and for the future as quite useless and superfluous in the land of the Syrens? Or is it only intended that the people should in all respects be made to resemble your Mi-

nisters? There is no further need then of good agriculturists, of skilful artificers, of learned men, of experienced traders, of virtuous subjects, of an imposing national representation, of sure domestic quiet and public security?

Sire, Were the national honours reserved, and the chief posts granted only to real worth; what a different aspect would not your kingdom wear? But can the prosperity of your people be ever combined with the views of the perfidious; with the despotic measures of your Ministers? But could their insignificance ever brook the merit of others? Could they suffer to see their own pomp eclipsed; to find their caprices checked, and their villanies unmasked?

Would you wish, Sire, to encourage merit, and to allow precedence to virtue? Destroy the causes of the evil; drive from your presence the patrons of guilt and of every base passion. Dismiss your actual Ministry. Introduce competition for morals and merit;

and favour in every sense the societies of encouragement.

System of Correction.

How do you ward off vice? How do you improve the manners of your people? How do you reclaim from their errors those who have happened to go astray? Is it by the example of villainy favoured, and of merit scorned and rejected; is it by means the least calculated to preserve your subjects from idleness; by principles that compel them to break through every fence of the laws; to prostitute their morals, and set up their honour for sale.

You have got prisons in abundance, you support many places of punishment, and numberless houses of correction. You hear a great deal said about large establishments for the condemned. Why all this dismal apparatus; which ought to be a reproach to the *sybaritical* mode of loving of your assessors. But they, too far removed from such establishments, assure you that such are

necessary, in order to bring about the reformation of the prisoners. Let them condescend then to explain to you the benefit to be derived from the example of innocence punished, and guilt absolved? Or how the reformation of the prisoners can be effected, by tormenting and oppressing the subject, and preventing his amendment by adding daily more and more to his galling vexations?

Sire, Take a turn through your prisons, and you will there find numberless unfortunate victims pent up in the most gloomy recesses, from six to seven, eight, nine, and ten years of age, who know not even why they are thus confined; and who having asked in vain a thousand and a thousand times to be heard and judged; find their request only listened to by the magistrate with disdainful silence; while from other quarters they learn that they have powerful enemies, who cause their detention to be thus indefinitely protracted. Observe, still further, and you will discover murderers and public assassins blended with the

innocent victims of arbitrary caprice; who knowing that their lives are forfeited, were they brought to trial, succeed with the money they have robbed in bribing a delay, and getting their cause postponed; till one of the many pardons granted by your Majesty, is secured to them; which favours are often extended to such outlaws, but never to the injured and oppressed victims of tyranny.

Consider the extortions, the arbitrary conduct, the cruelty and partiality of the jailers. Contemplate the method used for reforming the conduct of the imprisoned. Here one is seen despairing; there another insulting his his fellow prisoners; on one side there is nothing but drinking and swearing; on the other but plotting, pilfering, and bastinading; but quarrelling, gambling and disorder; and in all quarters but horror and confusion. And is it by a system so irritative, and convulsive that one would wish to quell and calm the violent passions, which were and ever are the cause of man's plunging into error, vice and crime?

Did your counsellors, Sire, in allowing such excesses to exist, wish to reform, or to deprave the citizen? Could they have intended their prisoners for the scandal or the edification of the state? Your present Ministers are not ignorant of the common saying, which they have heard repeated a thousand times; *The prison never makes a man better:* that is to say, *in your kingdom.* They notwithstanding dare to tell you that prisons are necessary for the reformation of delinquents.

The prisons, Sire, would certainly be for the advantage of the state and the people, were they destined only for your Ministers; and the unworthy assessors, who at present so mislead you. Then would they truly furnish an example the most edifying to your other subjects; and prove the most conducive means of removing from them every motive of scandal?

Your Ministers, were they truly desirous of improving the morals of the public, and of bettering the lot of prisoners and persons

requiring correction, ought rather to begin by perfecting the police, and the judiciary system of the kingdom; they ought in the next place to cause the accusers as well ss the accused to be considered as equally suspected of guilt, till such time as the cause is determined; they should in the third place make the causes to be tried with as little delay as possible; attending to the proofs and appeals of the parties; and allowing to be mentioned in the public journals every judiciary proceeding with the facts, the circumstances and the nature of the sentences passed accordingly. They should then ordain that with regard to those proved guilty of misdemeanor and vice, the prison-system of Philadelphia should be imitated; a system which truly does honour to the friend of his country and philanthrophist who invented it; which has always been attended with the most wished-for success; and which is so well described by Rochefauchaud. In the prisons of that country, Sire, the guilty enter as devils, but came out of them like angels. Nor does he ever return to them again, who has once been

liberated. Into your prisons, however, the virtuous often enter, to become perfect devils; and are induced on quitting them to avenge by private force the wrongs against which the public could not screen them. But what a difference between such foreign prisons, and the establishments for punishment or correction, which exist in your kingdom; particularly those instituted by ARTALES for the punishment of the supposed felons, who were all afterwards acknowledged innocent. The circumstance filled Major General Forbes with horror; and induced him to interest himself in behalf of oppressed humanity.

Sire, The silence enjoined, and reflection on the crimes committed; the difference of food prescribed; the prohibition of all intoxicating liquors; the prevention of all insult and provocation; the relief afforded in suffering; the obligation to work, in order to prevent idleness; the shortening or lengthening of the period of chastisement, or the augmenting or lessening its rigour and intensity, in proportion to the amendment or depravity of the prisoners; are the surest means of reform-

ing the conduct of the criminals; while the sure produce of their labour exempts the state from all expense in supporting them, and in affording them, on their liberation, some resources, lest their new wants should impel them to commit new misdemeanors and crimes; and force them to return once more to their wicked and dangerous courses.

System of Occupation, or Industry.

This is the real *Oromazzes* of governments; the true benefic principle of the people's welfare; and the sure antidote of those evils, which necessarily attend on every society; while inactivity proves the stumbling-block of crowned heads, and the slow poison of states in proportion as the citizen's industry is impeded. Politicians agree, and good sense demonstrates, that the resources moral, economical, and civil, of governments, are always in direct proportion with the national activity. Idleness, the nurse of the most dangerous passions, by multiplying our wants, darkening our reason, and exalting error and caprice, effects the gradual down-

fall of every Sovereignty ; and may justly be called the *Arimenes* of the nations, and the evil genius of princes.

Solon noted all vagabonds with infamy. Lycurgus considered them as the pests of society. Cæsar accounted them dangerous to the country. Even Napoleon's chief object was to diminish idleness. Your sacred assessors think of nothing but of throwing obstacles every where in the way of industry : and the restricting of possessorial right, the confirming of exclusive privileges, the decimating of the army, the restricting of civil employments, the confiding of the highest situations in the kingdom to foreigners, defrauding thus the citizens of their natural rights of preference, as well as the new decrees regarding commerce, the abominable partition of lands and national property, the consequent paralization of industry, and the whole actual state of the kingdom, are evident proofs of the fact I assert, and of the truly exalted intentions of those who counsel you at present.

Intentions so ill-omened, facts of this nature, what consequences are they likely to produce? quite contrary ones to those which the measures of a Lycurgus, a Solon, and a Cæsar produced in Greece and Rome; and to those which Bonaparte made appear in Italy and France after the *Census* made by him of the national domains.

Sire, If idleness be the real cause of physical, moral, and political evil; and if your ministers favour idleness, and oppose national activity; the consequent depravation of your subjects, the decay of their energy, their indifference for their country, and their fondness for innovation and disorder, to what are they to be ascribed, if not to the most obvious stupidity, the most notorious perfidy of your actual advisers? These alone, reason and good sense might point out to you as guilty of lese Majesty against God and man.

If idleness is the source of every vice, which of the two befriends morals the most, and is the most anxious to render your subjects

religious and virtuous? the promoter of industry, or the patron of laziness? Lycurgus, Solon, Cæsar, and the now anathematized Bonaparte; or the rueful bigots who just now besiege you, and persuade you to build churches, and endow monasteries; making you act the part of a mean vestry-clerk; but at the same time causing you to throw insurmountable obstacles in the way of public industry? These are they, Sire, who would persuade you to trample upon the commands of the Deity, and the dictates of reason; and this only, that they themselves may appear and be incensed as the chief idols of the state.

If the chief resources of government rest on the industry of the community, who rendered your's formerly so impotent in this respect, and so beggarly in its representatives? Who reduced you to such straitened circumstances, and obliged you to make the most humiliating figure? Those doubtless, who had previously relaxed all the energy,

and undermined the patriotism of your subjects, your present most unworthy assessors.

If from the inactivity of the citizens every evil is derived, and if the welfare of nations depends on the produce of the people's industry; what were that system, the most conducive to the prosperity of your subjects? *That of making it be clearly understood by every one that he has no other resource to depend upon, but the fruit of his own labour and personal merit: and that he can have little or nothing to hope for from the meritorious exertions of others; from his own intrigues; from the favours of chance, or from idleness and effeminacy.* Your present Ministry has however found out a nobler way of securing to every citizen resources of every description; *cheap-gambling*, to wit; assassination; disorder; the patronage and special favours of the Lady FLAVIAS and the Lady MARIAS; bigotry, hypocrisy and prostitution. These are the means, Sire, by which your assessors have so successfully obtained the good will,

and secured the welfare of your subjects. Agriculture, the arts, commerce, and industry are deemed perhaps a dishonour to the state; and are therefore opposed or superseded. You have remarked the flourishing state of Greece; the grandeur of Rome; the virtue of the Samnites; the glory of the Brutians; the great power of Napoleon; his capacity of rendering himself the soul of associations; and of bringing over so many states to his system; and you see at the same time the state of depression and misery, in which your kingdom just now finds itself placed. From what cause can so great a difference proceed? From the great difference of the principles adopted for favouring industry, and preventing indolence. This being the case, what motive could ever have induced you to decimate your own army, and call in foreigners to assist you? To diminish the number of civil employments; to put obstacles to labour; to authorise gambling, as a pastime for youth? Sire, Colbert and Sully borrowed money, to be employed in promoting the industry of their country.

Napoleon made the people fond of his government, by multiplying the employments; by making the taxes lie heaviest on the rich possessor, and obliging the subject to find employment. Unless you multiply employments in the state; unless you oblige the citizen to work, rendering it quite indispensible for him to do so, and making him abhor indolence; unless you do all you can to multiply the means of supporting such employments, and, if necessary for that purpose, unless you even burthen your subjects with new taxes, *engaging them, with this view, to support establishments of industry, and real effective occupations in your kingdom;* you will never find yourself sufficiently strong or secure. Be well assured, that unless the public resources are kept in a perpetual flux and reflux, instead of proving beneficial, they will become hurtful to your government. *Emigration* or *employment* is indispensibly necessary to Europe. Revolt will always be found where neither of these takes place. The days of barbarism are over; the people are become sharp-sighted; their enthusiasm

is raised. The liberty of the press exists in many kingdoms. It were a fatal mistake to imagine that Europe is as tame as ever to the yoke of slavery. The wishes and wants, Sire, of the subject are not more to be thwarted with impunity. Think well on these truths. The original cause of Napoleon's overthrow was his system of violently thwarting the habits, become a second nature, of the citizens, and which had changed their imaginary to real wants. *The Sugar and Coffee War* brought the most desolating calamities on his empire. What then will be your case, what will their's be, who think of opposing the call of nature, the wishes of the people, and the urgent circumstances of the nations.

The Modifying System.

Sire, whichever way you turn your eyes, you will find a mixture of good and evil. Remember that almost all nations and all philosophers have thought this universe ruled by two opposite powers. The *Oromazzes* and the *Arimenes* of the Persians; the good and

evil deities of the Romans; the etherial and material principles of Plato; the contrary propensities in man; the God of light, and the prince of darkness of the Christians; all these serve only to confirm this opinion; and most evidently demonstrate the fact that every community and every government contains, in itself, evils altogether unavoidable, as being inherent in human nature itself. Scandals must necessarily take place. *Vitia donec homines.* While man exists, vice must exist, is the opinion of the great politician Tacitus. And the experience of ages assures us that while communities have their vices, they will have their evils attending them also.

These vices are the malefic deities, to whom the prince of Latin orators bids us frequently strew corn; not in the hopes of thus rendering them benefic; but to prevent their doing us all the harm they might. *Sacrificandum malis Diis, ut minus noceant.* Should these, instead of being soothed and mitigated, be openly assailed and irritated; their influence would thus be only rendered more hurtful

to society, and to every government. Misdeeds are the real effects of the base passions; and these are the daughters of delusion. Every vice is therefore the more apt to gain ground, the more it is veiled from the public view; and the more it is abhorred, the more it is exposed in all its native deformity. Seneca held out his mirror to the enraged, to shew them how rage disfigures and renders men hideous; and to engage them by this exposure to avoid being agitated by such a passion. The Lacedemonians used to make the Helotes drunk, to shew their fellow citizens the disgusting effects of drunkenness; and thus to guard them against it. Ovid, in accounting for the rape of Helen, ascribes it entirely to the idleness of Paris. *In promptu causa est, desidiosus erat.* The wisest legislators have therefore imagined that the best way to preserve the citizens from libertinism was to keep them always occupied; or, at least, to divert their minds with innocent and useful pastimes. With this view the most polished nations instituted many public festivals, athletic amusements, thea-

trical exhibitions; and numberless other modes of diversion and exercise for the people.

Sire, from these principles and facts it would seem evident that in order to reduce the influence of political evils, the best expedient is that of always keeping the citizen as much employed as possible; of diverting and withdrawing him from such influence with pastimes the most innocent, moral, and useful that can be invented; of holding vice forth to him as most opprobrious and degrading; and its haunts as shameful and infamous in proportion as they are public and notorious.

Sire, if such principles are well grounded, how will your advisers be able to justify their counsels, and the decrees which they have persuaded you to enact?

Among the political evils, brothels, gambling, and excess in eating and drinking hold the first place.

You have prohibited brothels, as being a nuisance in the state. You have authorized cheap gambling, as an amusement for the people! And you have quite overlooked gluttony and drunkenness.

Sire, you very well know, that in the aforesaid establishments, the persons there employed were subjected to regulations the most revolting to their feelings, the most annoying, degrading, and the best calculated to reclaim them from so disgraceful a profession; as well as to prevent crime, and to preserve the health of those who happened to visit them.

You have abolished all such establishments; but what is it that you have abolished on this occasion? The mere acts of the subjects therein employed, or the restrictive obligations to which they were subjected? The acts of these subjects? Then you must have given them a new sort of education, other occupations, and different means of subsistence. You must have

found out some new way of satisfying the natural wants of the citizen. If you have not done this, and yet wished to abolish the above-mentioned operations, you must have surely intended to root out the very nature of your people, or to stifle men's passions by irritating and exciting them.

Have you found out any new way of satisfying the natural wants of the citizen? You must then have encouraged matrimony, and destroyed the principle of debauchery. Let us see then how far this has been attended to in your kingdom.

Among your Grandees only the first-born can marry. The second, third, fourth and fifth-born have it not in their power to do so. These serve only to enhance the family pomp; and to add to the triumph of vice. The first-born marry, but only for ceremony, and not from choice or inclination. Their marriages are settled on by strangers, not by the contracting parties themselves. Couples of this description are frequently seen going to the

altar, without any previous acquaintance; without having ever seen each other, or so much as spoken together; and more like victims going to be immolated to the foolish pride of their parents, than like lovers brought together to realize the pledge of mutual free affection. These noble unfortunates find themselves frequently caught in Hymen's net, while their hearts remain captivated with other objects, than those so forced upon them; though they must submit without remonstrance to the consequences of that fate, which did not originate in themselves; the fatal influence of which they have it not in their power to destroy or diminish. From such fatal fashionable folly it necessarily follows that such married couples are either induced immediately to return to the former objects of their affection, from which they had been torn, to look out for some new ones in their stead; the lady to find her gentlemen attendants, the real etiquette husbands for the love-stricken fair. Hence these, constantly surrounded with a troop of gallanting Ganymedes, are thus seen openly

carrying profligacy in triumph; while the husbands, on their part, always in the company of other ladies, distinguish themselves only as the worshippers of vice. Hence in this country the too frequent examples of conjugal indifference, disgust, separation and divorce among married couples of this description. Hence also are occasioned the many clandestine marriages, which take place all over the kingdom.

Celibacy is then the real inheritance of the second, third, fourth and fifth born, &c., of the great; whose sole resource is therefore debauchery: which evil originates in the arrangements made by their progenitors; and according to which they are considered only as mere family parasites: in the family pride, which subjects them to its anathema, should they dare to marry any woman, that could not, like themselves, exhibit a long smoaky-faced train of pictured ancestry; and in the circumstance that neither their own education fits them, nor does the government afford them the means or opportunity to support the lus-

tre of their houses in high situations, attainable only by virtue and merit.

A great many, and indeed the far greatest proportion of the citizens, are forced to lead a single life, because they are too poor, and therefore unable to support the weighty duties of the married state; because they have not the means of maintaining families, which, if married, they must find; and because it is not in their power to get any employment, or any sure sale for the product of their labours.

You have then, Sire, abolished brothels, and yet have established anticonjugal principles! You have abolished them, and yet have thus encouraged debauchery; when you granted the best employments in the state to foreigners, and obliged your citizens to become beggars and vagabonds; when you decimated the army, diminished the civil employments, neglected to favour the arts, and left your people a prey to indolence and inactivity! While the private contract for improper con-

nexion between persons of a different sex was tolerated? While the favour of the Lady *Flavias*, and the purchased patronage of the Lady *Marias*, were the only means your subjects had of getting employment, exalting themselves, and obtaining honours in the state; while so many miscreants were raised to the first posts in the kingdom, while the worthy were depressed, and the meritorious exiled! When assassins were favoured, and the injured not allowed to claim indemnification for their losses sustained! When perjury was authorized! and when .....

But, Sire, under such circumstances, and according to the aforesaid principles, every one is well aware that your decree went only so far as to abolish the obligatory restrictions, to which the *Cyprian* tribe was subjected; but not to put a stop to their practices. Their profession was thereby rendered less infamous, less difficult to be followed, more dangerous to the state and hurtful to your people. If you wish to see this demonstrated by facts, deign only to observe the following.

After the abolition of the brothels, the haunts of infamy were encreased in number, instead of being diminished. They escaped the notice of government, but not that of youth. Their prohibition excited more than ever loose desire in the minds of the profligate, and caused the virtuous part of the sex to be overlooked or neglected.

Previous to your decree the physicians had almost succeeded in extinguishing the contagious evil attendant on such wicked courses. Complaints of infidelity were no longer heard of in your tribunals. Delinquents could never think themselves secure under such establishments. The profligate even felt some remorse in frequenting them; and the females belonging to them were often deterred from pursuing such a line of conduct, by the degrading restrictions, to which their profession subjected them.

Now infected persons are every where to be met with. The complaints of parents and married persons are endless. Domestic broils

are greatly encreased. The haunts of profligacy are rendered more respectable, or less disgraceful in the eyes of those who frequent them; and they afford at all moments an open and easy access to crime and subterfuge.

Sire, whoever induced you to promulgate such a decree, must have felt a particular interest in behalf of the fair sex; and must palm upon you, from such motives, his false lights for true ones. Should you really wish to stop the fatal influence of so great an evil, behold how it is to be done. Facilitate the means of marriage. Take away all the obstacles that hinder it, and whatever does not tend to render it happy. Let all be done to make the parties truly fond of each other, so that they may not treat each other with indifference, but may themselves consult their own hearts on the subject, and not their interest and the pride of their parents.

Keep the citizen as much as possible occupied, and imitate, with this view, the policy of the Chinese, Greeks, and Romans; or any other system that engages the citizen to labour, and thereby enables him to marry.

Frequently divert his mind with useful and innocent spectacles; and furnish him good moral examples. Load then the brothels with the greatest infamy, and with as many restrictive obligations and burthens as you please: but let them be made public as soon possible; let them be well marked out to every one's observation; and then decree with Cæsar that the profligates, who frequent such, are incapable of holding any public situation; and that the fathers of families are every where to be honoured and respected.

Gambling, or Lotteries.

Sire, Your assessors are rare geniuses indeed. Their principles seem ever at variance with the common sense of mankind, and are those of quite another world. Experience teaches us here in ours that cheap gambling is the most ruinous of vices, and much more fatal even than debauchery. Your Majesty's counsellors, however, in reprobating brothels, have solemnly sanctioned gambling. They reprobated the former, stiling such a scandal in the state; and they authorized the latter,

affirming it to be a means of occupation for the citizen. They reprobated brothels, and yet, at the same, did every thing in their power to promote debauchery! When they opened to idleness its *ne plus ultra* scope; when they held out such frequent examples of immorality and injustice; when they supported the absolute power and arbitrary measures of the great, and kept the people in the utmost misery and depression; granting every favour to those in high life, and withholding from the lower orders the necessary means of maintaining their unquestionable rights. They substituted cheap gambling as a means of occupation for the people, at the very time that they increased beggary, and forced idleness upon the people; when they so reduced the number of civil and military employments; when they induced you to make regulations diametrically opposite to the progress of the primitive and meliorating arts, and to commerce; after so checking the public education, and after witnessing the decision of the Palermo Parliament, that no games of hazard should be authorized by government.

Sire, this is a discovery truly worthy of a distinguished place in the annals of the literary and political republic, that cheap gambling should be an advantageous occupation for the people, and even a more useful one than any which the primitive arts, industry, or commerce, the literary, civil or military pursuits are capable of furnishing. Your assessors retard, or overlook all these, and turn their chief attention to the games of hazard, in hopes, with such to better the circumstances of the state. Your people are surely more indebted to them for such a discovery, than ever they were to your Gioja of Amalfi for that of the mariner's compass. It would have been but right, however, that the rare and worthy inventors had imitated that philosopher in the transport, with which he rushed out of the public bath, and ran all naked along the streets exclaiming INVENI, INVENI: *I have found it, I have found it:* since a discovery so very advantageous to the interests of humanity, should have been made public as soon as possible; and the other governments ought not to have lost one moment in reducing it to practice;

especially as this new order of things enabled them to reduce a great proportion of their soldiery, to whom this expedient afforded more advantageous employment. Sire, the worthy inventor of this grand secret received only ten thousand dollars, and this without the least *eclat*, and merely to make it a matter of conscience for you to authorize it. It would be still but just to grant him some further remuneration, more suited to his deserts. Sire, if he has discovered in fine that the lottery-wheel, the *Faro*, the *rouge et noir*, are proper occupations, and the most effectual to reclaim your subjects from vice to virtue; he has certainly stumbled upon something even more precious than the *philosopher's stone*, or *the elixir of life*, so vainly sought after by the *adepts*.

Excess in Eating and Drinking.

Sire, your Ministers deem this subject altogether unworthy of their notice. They smile perhaps, on hearing mention made of the public dinners of the Spartans. They must have thought a Lycurgus mad, in taking

such pains to make his countrymen so sober and moderate in their manner of living; and they must have deemed it mere folly in the children of Esculapius to suppose that health, vigour and longevity are the effects of temperance. Be their judgment what it may on this particular, since they have not deigned to explain their minds upon the subject, nor have we as yet found a key to them, such as Momus very properly required in order to get at the heart of Vulcan's man; we still think it our duty to pay on this score, the just tribute of our deference to Harpocrates.

System of Amusements.

The system of amusements is the system of nature; the balm of those evils that exasperate us; the opiate of the cares that weigh too heavy upon us; and the decoy from those vices that most allure us.

In human mechanism nothing is done without loss. Newton had observed that every agent suffers by acting; it is weakened by reaction, or worn by continuing to act. All

philosophers are perfectly aware that man diversifies his actions by varying his attention; and that, by such variation, the active principle is made to range through the several branches, of which the organs and machines are composed; so as while activating the one, it soothes, restores, and fortifies anew the others, already too much strained or depressed. This proves to us, that the sensorium-principle is only to be kept intent to a given time, and on its various objects, not always on one and the same, and that the mind of man requires evagations and distractions. Nature herself observes the same method in seeking to maintain the harmony of life. She is beautiful because she knows so well how to vary her form; and she is various and admirable in the variety of her productions; for the whole system of the universe is nothing but variety; and the decomposition of one part in it is made to cause the reproduction of another. If such is the natural order of things, that of man must be the same; and all governments, anxious to better their condition, can never oppose so general a law,

as the one imposed on nature by the Supreme Being.

The divertive system is therefore the system of all the states in life; and it is such, because every society is accompanied with numberless most afflicting and fatal evils; nor is it in the power of government to relieve the citizen from the painful pressure of such, but by innocent and useful pastimes. The great difficulty consists solely in the proper choice to be made of divertive establishments, and in finding the means to support them. From this choice, and from the application of these means, the goods and evils attendant on governments are derived.

Sire, What establishments of this description have you got in your dominions? By what means do you divert the mind of the citizen from the evils he endures; or how do you lighten his cares? With religious festivals; with theatrical entertainments; with court pagentry and visits of etiquette. Such

pastimes are certainly fit entertainment for idleness, and calculated to distract the mind; but do they at the same time yield any incitement to labour; any vigour to the body; any forwarding impulse to the arts; any stimulus to virtue, or any resources to the wants of the state?

Sire, Do you look for piety in the abstract, while, in general, immorality, bad habits and injustice are so sanctioned? If good morals are wanting to your people in the midst of your religious solemnities, these are rather a scandal than an enhancement to Divine Worship.

Your theatres are but so many schools of effeminacy, not affording any alleviation to wearied industry. The court-pageantry and frequent etiquette-visits lead but in triumph your court vassalage, without adding any thing to your real grandeur. Their whole pomp is furnished out by foreign manufactures; and you shew yourself, while decked out in these, only the first tributary to the stranger.

If you wish your people to be truly religious, endeavour to withdraw them from evil; and ease their minds from all the cares that afflict them. Seek only to appear truly great. Remove your subjects from all temptations to profligacy. Destroy vice and crime in their source. Keep the citizen always well employed. Encourage matrimony. Render your people energetic, fond of labour, and industrious; and make them lovers and admirers of genuine merit. Establish exhibitions of objects of art and manufacture, and cause fairs and festivals to be held for that purpose. These, besides diverting the public mind, would promote and ameliorate the productions of the country. Establish also festivals for rewarding and honouring those who have excelled in agriculture, pasturage, mineralogy, the nautical art, mechanism, learning, industry and commerce; as also those holding offices in the state; and all, whose talents, application and merits deserve to be distinguished. These, Sire, are the real means of diverting, and at the same time of benefiting your people. Yield only the *post-*

liminial honours to the festivals of the Samnites; of those your ancient countrymen, who had the hardihood to make even the Romans stoop beneath their yoke. Arrange matters so, as to make those expect most from their country, who have proved most useful to it; having shewn themselves the most virtuous in it; so that each may be thus induced to contribute his utmost to its advantage; to supply it with brave defenders, and wise directors; to beget a lawful progeny; and hence to avoid all profligacy and gluttony; thus to augment and improve the species; and so to make patriotism, and the social virtues which always accompany it, resume once more their lost sway over the minds of your people.

Why not restore the athletic games, and do away with those of hazard? The former will renew in your subjects the pristine vigour of their ancestors; while the last can only tend to plunge them into crime and anarchy.

Why not stir up a competition for merit, to be held every year in the capital, every

half year in each province, and every month in the chief district? Let the conduct of Judges principally be scrutinized in these; next that of public functionaries; and finally that of all who aspire at being employed in the state; and then the wishes of your people, as well as the public registers, will enable you to distinguish the worthy from the unworthy; and will make you know them by public, positive and notorious facts, not by anonymous informations, adulatory shifts and subterfuges.

These are the spectacles, Sire, which your kingdom stands in need of; such as can advantageously ease the fatigues of labour, effectually divert the mind from evils, relieve it from care, and engage the citizen still more and more in new, useful and becoming pursuits; and also excite him to augment the public resources, affording you a just right to all your regal display, and securing his own and your real greatness.

Sire, from what you ought to have done for the good of your people, and from all you

have been hitherto induced to do in their regard, you now clearly perceive that you have been imposed upon; and you will also acknowledge that they who made you act so, must either be real quadrupeds, or the choicest set of villains in existence.

New, and more fatal Illusions.

Sire, the above mentioned are not the only illusions to which you have been exposed: there are others more fatal that surround you; and the more fatal, as you are made to believe, that the facts, on which they are grounded, are advantageous; and the circumstances attending them useful to the public. Be not, Sire, misled by so fatal a mistake. Know that your Ministers have turned to deadly poison the very medicine intended for your safety. Contemplate this truth in the persecution you were induced to commence against all the sectaries in your kingdom. Observe it in your own political transformation; and consider it well in the resolution you were persuaded to adopt of abolishing the new constitution granted by yourself to Sicily.

Persecution of the Free Masons and Carbonarians.

Sire, you were persuaded to persecute the Free Masons and Carbonarians; and why, pray? Let us see for what reasons.

You cannot be ignorant of the surprising effects of religious enthusiasm. You are well aware that the wisest and most respectable proportion of your subjects belonged either to the Masonic or Carbonarian Societies. You know the grand maxim of Tacitus, which is, that number is always to be respected. You know, too, that man is prone to covet whatever is prohibited. You were informed that the persecution of the Carbonarians of Cosenza, under General Manhes, augmented their number from only one to thirty; and you very well know, that Murat owed his downfal to that persecution, which he had raised; for his troops almost all belonged to the societies, which he opposed; and after so bravely fighting on the banks of the Panaro, calling to mind

that he was their persecutor whom they were defending, they gave up fighting any longer in his cause, and refused any more to carry arms under him. You then, Sire, perhaps, would have profited of your rival's blunder; since you dispatched from Palermo various seals of secret corellation, having the inscription, *Natus ex hydrâ debet mori*, and sent several such to different sectaries. You have now been induced to persecute these same sectaries, however much you have had occasion to observe, that *the same causes always produce the same effects*: however much you were in circumstances to know that Napoleon owed principally to them his chief glory; and, to the insults he offered them, in a great measure his decline and overthrow.

Do your assessors then, Sire, wish your fate to resemble that of your rival? Most assuredly. Be therefore undeceived at last. To this very pass have the false friends brought you, who now surround your Majesty; and who have persuaded you to persecute those,

who had so assisted you; whose sole disgust could at once completely ruin you; but whose friendship could prove the surest shield to your authority. That you may more clearly perceive this important truth, deign, Sire, to allow me only to ask what motives your advisers could have had in making you so persecute these sectaries. These: that they were become numerous: that they might unite, and give umbrage to your Government: that their principles are liberal: that their operations are not public; and that they have their own secrets.

1. Is then the multitude to be hated, because it may happen to be feared? And is it not rather to be courted, for the sake of what one hopes through its assistance? Nero wished the Roman people to have had but one neck, and he a sword: politicians, on the contrary, wish for *unanimity, population, concord and energy*. The wish of the illustrious philanthropists who at present counsel you, is it that of a Nero, or that of politicians? Does the multitude so annoy them? Why

then do they not withdraw themselves to the delightful solitudes of California? Why do they not fly from every civilized society, and rather prefer living quite isolated among the brutes? Why do they not leave to others more capable than themselves the care of turning to the best advantage that which they account so very dangerous, but which in the hands of a prudent director could be rendered the firmest bulwark, and most precious ornament of the throne? Do your assessors imagine that the uniting so of subjects together compromises the safety of any sovereign? They thereby affirm that the security of the sovereign consists in the disunion and contrariety of the subjects: and that his government is best settled, when his kingdom is divided by opposite factions, and contending parties. And can these sacred Areopagists of state still persuade you of such an absurdity?

Are the unions of these sectaries seditious conspiracies, or meetings only for the purpose of rendering more enlightened their fel-

low creatures? Sire, even the governments the most unfriendly to such sectaries, never lay to their account any such treasonable attempts; nor have they ever been able to shew in them the smallest impropriety. Their number increases in proportion as the nations become civilized; and the wisest and most philanthropic nations patronize them. Would your Ministers annihilate them, because they think them really hurtful to the public good; or because the civilization of their associates fills them with dismay; or because an enlightened people embraces them; or because these worthies would wish to brutify the minds of the citizens, in order that they might be free to act the despots?

The sectaries may give umbrage to the government; and can they not also impart force and vigour to it equally? If one is to judge only by possibilities, and possibilities taken in the worst sense, why are the enlightened counsellors of your Majesty at so safe a distance from chains, dungeons, and the gallows?

The Free Masons and Carbonarians profess the most liberal principles. They are therefore the more to be esteemed, and cannot so be dangerous. Have, perhaps, by some state-metamorphosis, the citizens of the ORETUS and SEBETUS been all at once transformed into Mussulmen? Have your people no more any right to make themselves acquainted with truth? Must they be thrown back into barbarism and ignorance, in order to give place to your Ministers, and allow them pretences for usurping the sultanship of your palace? But in all the wished-for barbarism and ignorance of your subjects, would you, Sire, be more illustrious? Could you hope to be better counselled: more strong and secure? Once deprived of all civilization and foresight, could any society render itself more prosperous, or become imposing? The sectaries hold secret tenets: must they therefore be false, dangerous to the state, and deserving to be annulled? When a principle is occult, though not so to every body, must it for that reason be false and pernicious? Were this the case, Newton's principle of gra-

vity ought to be accounted absurd; and Copernic's system deserves once more to be fulminated with the papal anatheme. The sacred Scripture would not be exempted from a similar fate, in as far as it is obscure and allegorical. The ancient church, too, ought not to have been credited, on account of the vast precautions it took in instructing its catechumens and Neophites. Every mystery would run the risk of being turned into ridicule, on account of its obscurity; and Paradise itself would be in danger of seeming, to your Ministers, the refuge of the wicked, because St. Paul, who was transported thither in spirit, affirms that he could not reveal to mortals, the secrets which he had witnessed there. But why, Sire, pursue thus the shadow, when the substance itself is in sight? The divine Saviour has given you the rule, by which you are to distinguish the hypocrites from the righteous: Ex OPERIBUS EORUM COGNOSCETIS EOS. *By their works you shall know them.* The Free Masons, Sire, and the Carbonarians were always esteemed as persons the most distin-

guished for their good sense and moral conduct. But, pray, what sort of men are your Ministers? Know them by their deeds, both public and private; know them even in their determination to persecute the above-mentioned sectaries. Know them, as described in the well-known proverb: *all fowls of one feather flock together; but shun and abhor those of a different kind.*

Sire, if these are the motives which made you persecute the sectaries, you will now own with me that you have persecuted them, because you have been imposed upon; and not for any good reason, or sound political motive; and that you have been so imposed upon on account of the rivalry and difference of character existing between those who imposed upon your Majesty and the said sectaries: imposed upon, because your assessors, consulting only their own interest, wished to make you *smite the fire with the sword;* because it was not very safe for your counsellors that the Carbonarians and Free Masons should remain any longer your friends and

supporters, as they could not in such case make caprice and deceit lord it so absolutely. All this, however, Sire, is but the effect of reaction. The chief object your Ministers had in view in inducing you to raise such a pesecution, was a very different one from what they pretended; it was that such a persecution afforded them a most specious pretext for extending the empire of arbitrary caprice, subterfuge and perfidy; and for securing by that means for ever both their own interests, and those of the most barefaced imposition and villainy. Examine only the proofs of my assertion.

At the commencement of the persecution raised against the sectaries, let us attend to what was done, what was seen, and what was heard.

A vast number of dark denunciations were every where rumoured abroad. A great many of the most exemplary individuals were dismissed from office in the following formula: *The King stands no more in need of your*

service. Signed *N. N. Minister.* Many were arrested, without any one's knowing why. A great many persons of distinction were banished the kingdom, without obtaining a hearing, or learning the cause of their disgrace. Nothing was seen but incarcerations and excarcerations; while none could guess the motives for either. Several were exalted to preferments, who had never displayed either personal merit, or any of the civil qualities requisite for the situations, in which they were placed.

At the time, Sire, when these events took place, many speculating geniuses asserted that all this pretence was only used in order to upset, with less risk, the order of things, which your Majesty had pledged yourself to respect. Others were of opinion that all this plan was agreed upon, in order to afford greater scope to anonymous informations dictated often by the Ministers themselves, in order to displace those, whose reliance on their own uprightness proved hurtful to them; and in order to substitute in their room those

who shewed themselves more liberal towards them, and towards some of their female dispensers of favours. Not a few conjectured that such a stratagem had been hatched, with a view to injure those subjects, whose views could not be made to tally with those of your counsellors, who were supposed to have secret motives for disliking them. Divers others ventured to maintain that the arrestations without grounds, and liberations without end, were, and could only be, effects produced by the magic touch of gold. There were still some who would have it that whoever could shew himself a prodigal in his defence, however much addicted to Carbonarianism and Free Masonry, was no more considered as such; and it was then said of your former, and still the same Ministers,

> **Whoe'er has money, bread and wine;**
> **He scoundrel is, and Jacobine:**

to which couplet the following has been since added:

> **Nor Carbonair, nor Mason he,**
> **Whoe'er his judge can largely fee.**

Sire, nothing is asserted or affirmed here of

all these surmises and suppositions. All that is advanced is, that granting only the principle laid down, the consequences thence deduced must be admitted. It is moreover presumed that you yourself, Sire,cannot have forgotten that the projected revolt of Naples in 1808, under Count Palmieri, had been projected by the very advisers, who just now surround you ; and that it was thought fit to encourage the conspirators on that occasion with the assurance that *they would be enriched wiih the spoils of the opulent ! !* as appears from the original letter, printed and made public by the French Government. What would those stick at, who had been capable of giving such an assurance? What then was the principal object your Ministers sought to realize, in instigating you on against the said sectaries? Deign only to remark it.

They very well knew that Murat had been upset chiefly for having persecuted the Carbonarians; nor could they, who now counsel you, be ignorant of this, since in 1814, they were sent from Palermo to the sectaries

all over the kingdom of Naples those seals of secret correspondence, having the above mentioned inscription, with the emblem of a ship having on board an Austrian, a British, and a Sicilian soldier.

These your Ministers knew equally well that the successes of Napoleon were in a great measure obtained through the exertions made in his favour by the Free Masons ; while these imagined they had found in him the defender and supporter of their principles. Your government had already acknowledged the fact on that point. It considered the sectaries as Bonaparte's agents, stiling Jacobins all those, whom it considered as your adversaries, and the partizans of Napoleon. You yourself had witnessed how that Ruler of France, on finding himself once well installed, and thinking his power by his new connexion and marriage sufficiently confirmed, thought of destroying those societies, which had till then favoured him ; and which, when wishing to act the despot, he thought he had reason to fear ; he therefore had recourse to the

most cunning of stratagems; and wishing to accomplish their ruin, he thought of doing it in the least perceptible manner possible. And imagining he could bring them into contempt by exposing their secrets, he caused a catechism containing them to be published. He fancied thus to damp the zeal of proselitism, and gradually extinguish the societies. In spite of all this rare finessse, his designs were perfectly seen through. The above mentioned societies thought themselves thus betrayed and insulted; and they therefore abandoned him to his fate. His designs against Russia were unveiled; his measures rendered inefficacious; his attempts were frustrated; and while he strove in vain to make it be thought that the nations were no longer desirous of being enlightened, those that actually were so, and whom he had insulted, had already decided his ruin.

All this, Sire, was not quite unknown to those, who now counsel you; and who wishing to make you forfeit for ever your authority, induced you to persecute Free Masonry;

and to hunt down those very Carbonarians, who had rendered you such services.

Basis of the Constitution granted to Sicily by its Sovereign, at the request of his subjects; guaranteed to that country by Great Britain; and abolished by the actual Ministry of Naples! ! !

Behold, Sire, the most hateful object of scandal to your Ministers; but the most glorious *ægis* of your people; the firmest basis of all your greatness; and therefore the butt the most exposed to the subterfuges of perfidy. The wicked, those sages of darkness and delusion that now surround you, have used every shift in order to deceive you on this subject. Your authority, say they, is at stake if you persist in maintaining the Sicilian Constitution. To enable you therefore to form a just opinion on a matter of such moment, permit your assessors to be cited by me to the tribunal of common sense; and their counsels to be examined and discussed in all their bearings.

Ye wise Areopagites of the Throne, come forth at last from your dominion of darkness; attend me to the temple of reason, and assist at the altar of truth; where dropping for once your masks, enter the sanctuary of Themis, in the presence of your Sovereign: be seated; recover your spirits, perhaps a little flurried; drink a little; calm yourselves; and then prepare to explain yourselves in a way to be understood by the rest of mankind. The basis of the system which you opposed is the under mentioned. Use the best arguments you can to discredit it, and to prove that you have not betrayed your King in persuading him to abolish it.

1. The government shall consist of three powers, the legislative, the judiciary and the executive. Two houses, one of nobles, the other of representatives of the people, shall constitute the Parliament; which shall have the legislative power.

The judiciary power shall reside in the magistrates, or in the civil and criminal judges.

The King shall represent the executive power.

The first of these shall discuss and enact the laws. The second shall see them applied to their respective purposes. The third shall approve or reject those proposed; and enforce the observance of such as are sanctioned.

2. These three powers shall have a reciprocal dependence in point of corellation, information and authority. The laws proposed by the Parliament shall not be binding, until they are sanctioned by the King. The King shall have the power of making peace and war; but not of raising troops, nor of imposing duties on the people. It is only the Parliament that can furnish the subsidies. His Majesty shall choose and change his Ministers at pleasure; but these must lay before the Parliament the measures of government. The Sovereign shall nominate the judges; but these once named shall remain such for life; nor can the Monarch any more interfere with their proceedings. Parliament shall call them to an account for any neglect of duty; and for that purpose shall subject them to a regular trial.

3. The press shall be free ; but blasphemy, calumny, and libel shall be punished.

4. His Majesty's person is considered sacred : the errors of government are those of his Ministers.

5. The religion of the state shall be the actually established one ; which none shall be allowed to impugn.

Behold that pentagon of state, on which was based the Sicilian Constitution. Illustrious ministers of darkness, deign to examine with me a little this political polygon ; and, for that purpose, to pass on to the following points.

FIRST POINT.

Nature of the Laws resulting from such a System.

The first point requiring your attention on this subject is the nature of the laws to be thence derived.

Laws must depend on circumstances, and on the wants of the people. They therefore

who have the best opportunity of being acquainted with these circumstances and wants, are best able to propose proper laws. Why then should it grieve you so very much if those should propose the laws, who are bound to observe them; that they should reject or approve them, who must see them executed? You see that, in the proposed system, the establishments to be made for the Sicilian, were such as he himself would have been most desirous of having; such as his wisest representatives judged the fittest for him; and as his Sovereign, and you yourselves, must deem the most for his advantage. If then you think proper to reprobate these laws, condemn first the nation's extravagance. Call its representatives capricious; its Sovereign stupid; and yourselves a set of immoral blockheads.

SECOND POINT.

Distinction and Division of Powers.

You dislike the distinction and division of powers: let us see with what reason. Are you

not aware that he attends to little, who has too many things to attend to? That the more objects are distinct, the better the nature of them is understood? That where a thorough knowledge is wanting, a proper arrangement cannot take place? That the classification introduced by LINNEUS has very much improved natural history? that the new distinctions of Botanists have been of the greatest advantage to that branch of history? That the exactness of pneumatics has raised chemistry to so exalted a pitch; and that for such reasons the Peripatetic very properly insisted so much on the distinctness of ideas? If this be the case, it follows by analogy that a system so advantageous in so many branches of human knowledge, instead of being hurtful, must be extremely useful in politics also; and hence, that the distinction of the aforesaid powers tend to confer upon each the most suitable aptness to arrange, fulfil and direct well the respective duties he has to discharge; besides that it affords the state the surest guarantee of its wants being provided for in the best possible manner; of its resources

being employed most to its profit; and its means turned to the best account. If the division of the said powers lessens to every one the multiplicity of his duties and occupations, it must at the same time afford to those in office more variety in their performance, and therefore new lights, to enable every one to acquit himself better and better of the charge he happens to be entrusted with. It is quite obvious to every one that he can best fulfil his duty, who has least to do in a given time; who, in the same circumstances, knows best how to distinguish and class his affairs each according to its kind; and who, having the same identical objects in view, can use the most conducive means towards their perfect accomplishment.

These principles being granted, which indeed are but so many axioms, it is a lawful and necessary inference that whoever opposes such a distinction and division, as the abovementioned, wishes only for confusion, and opposes the proper arrangement of what is to be classed. That consequently he

wishes not, in the case in question, the duties annexed to the respective powers to be fulfiled; but that their fulfilment should be rendered equivocal, and more difficult: or, to speak more plainly, he has a mind to render vain in fact those very powers, and particularly to betray the illustrious individual, in whose person he wishes them united: ye, gentlemen, are therefore above all others traitors to the state, and especially to your Sovereign. Was it then a crime in your eyes to adopt in politics a system, which made the arts and sciences make such rapid progress? Or do you imagine that one sole person can see clearer than all do? Can you suppose that a Sovereign artfully diverted by you yourselves from his attention to public affairs; exceedingly exposed; frequently seduced; and on a thousand occasions betrayed; will be less subject to err, unassisted by wise cousellors, and surrounded only by a set of gloomy villains; or that he will resist better all the seductions of the head and the heart, than he could do were he enlightened and directed by a whole assembly of illustri-

ous men? You, who alone are capable of advising so absurd a measure, let us know at least on what *data* you ground your opinion: or rather throw aside your masks, and shew us on what grounds you boast of being alone the brightest luminaries in the kingdom; whose views, political, military and economical far surpass in wisdom those of all the learned in the nation; or why you would pass for state idols, and geniuses of so superior a cast to those of your fellow mortals? You such!! We should be most happy to admire in you so illustrious a character; but the title, which you have hitherto strove so much to win, will not so easily be reconciled with such a wish. Meanwhile would you tell us in secret why you so abhor the distinction of powers, and wish to unite them all in your Sovereign? Is it to illustrate or to sacrifice him? To make him forward or retard the dispatch of public business; and thus to mar the hopes of the nation? Is it to enlighten the Sovereign on the affairs of his kingdom, or not rather to leave him in confusion and ignorance, in order that you may

become the despots of the state, and the tyrants of the country? Do you wish to furnish more occupation for the Sovereign? Why then were all your endeavours directed towards diverting him from the concerns of his kingdom? Why do you still let him know so little about them? Have you the interests of the throne and kingdom at heart? Why then did you make your Prince cut so disgraceful a figure? And why have you so often exposed the provinces to anarchy and confusion? Why have you almost always left the kingdom under foreign influence? Why? . . . . . But wherefore not consider you under your own genuine aspect? Why not excuse your wishes, your shifts and endeavours? But how could you relish the abovementioned distinction of powers? Did it exist, you could not become so the tyrants of the kingdom. You could not then conceal your plots, impostures and illusions; nor keep the Sovereign any longer in the dark as to the wretchedness of his people; the injustice of his Magistrates; the preponderancy of the Barons; the extortions of the

Ministry, and its dependants; and their monopoly. You could not then exalt the unfit, the infamous and abandoned; and cast down the worthiest of his subjects. You could not support your mistresses, the dispensers of public employments; nor your favourites, the treasurers of your gifts and bounties; and by them make it be publicly understood that the dispatches are vendible; that the Sovereign decrees are set up to sale; that justice depends entirely on your caprice, and on the favours which you condescend to grant, and which you grant only to your vile adherents. You could not banish, without hearing them, the blameless; nor arrest under feigned pretences, punish without guilt, or liberate without cause. You could not urge the Monarch to such wrong and ruinous measures; thus involving him in so many misfortunes, distresses and dangers; and his people in such deplorable calamities. You have been able to do all this, because you have had the opportunity of deceiving the Sovereign: and you have deceived him, since you have led him into a Babel of con-

fusion, and have concealed from him the truth, because there was no one, who durst publish your villanies; and because it is not left in the citizen's power to reason on the perfidious conduct of the ministry.

THIRD POINT.

Differences of the Faculties of the respective Powers.

The faculties are the means granted to the person employed, to enable him to fulfil the duties of the charge confided to him. Such fulfilment is more prompt, sure and successful, in proportion as the one employed is up to his business; as he has the less to do; and as the means, which he uses in order to succeed, are analagous to the nature, and corresponding to the exertions he must use in his respective employment. If this is the case, shew us the reason why the judiciary power should be more exposed to the influence of caprice, favour or hatred in the system we allude to; while it exempts from all such influence the decrees of the judges;

and subjects them for their injustice to a regular investigation of their conduct by Parliament.

Declare to us why they ought not to be the representatives of the nation, who propose the laws; notwithstanding that they are those who know best the wants, the circumstances, and the abilities of the people, whose substitutes they are; and why the Sovereign should not sanction or reject the laws proposed, since he is supposed the best informed upon all that concerns the government, and its political correlations?

Shew us how it is improper that the people's representatives should determine the duties to be laid on; notwithstanding that they are the only persons well acquainted with the means, resources, and situation of their fellow citizens; and why the Monarch should not remit to them the civil list, and oblige his Ministry to account to Parliament for the income and outlay of the public funds; considering that the civil and mili-

tary administration depends on the executive power: and that a good economist is all the better for looking frequently into his accounts; as they, who have the management of them, are thus prevented from defrauding him.

Let us know what it is that so precludes the principle destined to enforce the observance of the laws, and to proportion out the national expenditure; while the public force is entrusted to its care, and those in civil situations are dependent on its orders.

Expose to us the real cause, which renders so odious to you, and makes you think so pernicious, an establishment of this kind; a repartition of faculties, so conducive to the perfecting of the above described national triumvirate.

Is it perhaps because the proposed system secures public order; and as in order there can exist no disorder, so without disorder caprice would not be idolized? Is it perhaps because it realizes the public resources, and does not

allow the sweat of the poor to be abused of, the nation to become any more bankrupt, and the state to forfeit its credit? Is it perhaps because it prevents the wrong measures of the Sovereign, unjust wars, arbitrary injustice; and takes from you the power of indulging in subterfuge, seduction and perfidy? Is it perchance because you dislike that the errors, the crimes, the abuse of power in those whom you employ, should be known, and punished by the nation? Is it perhaps, because it proves your stupidity in having selected such; since their punishment would redound to your own disgrace; and such a consideration would hinder you from installing your own vile, infamous and profligate favourites; and would not allow you to authorize in them your despotism, and the degradation of the public? Are you vexed that the Magistrates should be no longer at your orders, that you might the more easily corrupt them, and dispose of their decisions at your pleasure? Is it because you think yourselves the only sages knowing the people's wants and circumstances; and therefore the

fittest, as Supreme Dictators, to legislate upon the subject. The many contradictions and incongruities in the laws you have made already, put that point beyond a doubt. Is it because you wish to be the only managers of the customs? The repeated bankruptcy of the nation under your wise statutes, proves what great advantages it might hope to derive from such excellent economists. Is it perhaps . . . . . *sapienti pauca* . . . . .

FOURTH POINT.

Reciprocal Dependence and mutual Connection of the Powers.

This dependence renders the Parliament necessary to the Sovereign; the Sovereign to the Parliament; and the Magistrates toboth. It consequently obliges each power to be complete in its attributes, and orderly in its measures.

This is therefore the sure antidote against the influence of the passions, which might lead astray the Sovereign, the Magistracy and

the Parliament. By subjecting the one to the other, it unites their minds; making them direct well all their undertakings; and rendering more energetical and profitable their efforts. It destroys the base passions of each; and, by the laws of contraries, while it keeps under the wicked, it will exalt the good; destroy vice; and introduce into the government and into all the kingdom, the seeds of the patriotic and social virtues. For what reason then could it ever be supposed that such a reciprocacy would not afford to the country the most protective ægis and glorious security? Would not bind the nation in the most indissoluble chain, not to be broken by its enemies; but the best calculated to pull down to its very foundations the empire of perfidy and of all public calamity? Great Britain, thus guarded, in the late vortex, which had sucked in all the rest of Europe, clearly shewed how such a chain bound together, and secured its inhabitants: and how these, supported by it, were able to make head against the general Usurper.

And you, ye supra-illustrious counsellors! do you intend contradicting such evident facts! Do you . . . . . But no . . . . The mistake was ours. We imagined you were speaking of the evils, which the aforesaid correlation might introduce into the state: whereas you were only exposing to us the injuries done to it by false zeal and your unprincipled egotism. Pardon me, gentlemen, you are perfectly right. All is now well; and we understand one another.

Liberty of the Press.

After its being established that the press cannot attack either the established religion or the Sovereign, or the reputation of the citizen with impunity; what reason can exist for supposing that the rendering it free is a measure dangerous or hurtful to the state?

The press has been always considered in other nations as the organ of their governments, and as the echo of the people's sentiments to their prince. The organ must be

harsh and dissonant, if he who touches it is unskilful, ill disposed, or unable to manage it ; and the national voice cannot be heard, unless it be allowed to utter itself spontaneously.

Whom then can the liberty of the press offend? Only the impostors; the perfidious; all those whose most infamous egotism endeavours to diminish the national resources ; to destroy the authority of Princes, the designs of whose enemies they seek to favour : of all those *who hate the light, because their deeds are evil :* who wish to bury the nations in more than Egyptian darkness; who must hide themselves, in order to appear wise, and pass themselves for virtuous while they act the part of villains.

Who finds his advantage in the liberty of the press? He who is fond of civilization and truth : those princes who do not allow themselves to be deluded and betrayed by their courtiers : those Sovereigns who wish to ascertain the real wants of their people ; and to

find out the means of supplying them: who wish to aggrandize themselves only by bettering the condition of their subjects; by securing to themselves their affection, together with the confidence of friends, and the respect of every other Monarch.

Philip of Macedon, with the view of making himself master of Attica, used at first every means in his power to bribe the Spartan and Athenian orators, in order thus to keep the people in the dark as to his real designs. It was then that the clear-sighted Demosthenes related his fable, so celebrated in antiquity, that of *the alliance between the dogs and the wolves*: mentioning that the wolves wishing to get the sheep into their power, endeavoured to secure to themselves first the friendship of the dogs. It is the same with those who wish to hinder the liberty of the press. It is it alone that can warn the government of every snare laid for it by its enemies; that can warn it of the misfortunes, to which the passions and fatal errors of its own very subjects expose it. He opposes the liberty of

the press, who undervalues such help and protection. But ere he do so, let him reflect that in the late emergencies England, being the only country where the liberty of the press was truly cherished, was enabled thus to avoid all mistakes; to repel the greatest efforts made against her by the common enemy; and rising from every fresh contest more majestic and glorious, to display far and wide her immortal trophies.

FIFTH AND LAST POINT.

Sacrifices, which the Throne is supposed to make, in maintaining the basis of the aforesaid System.

Having exposed the first, let us now turn to consider the second subterfuge.

Methinks I hear some hoarse throat loudly bawling out; the throne, in order to maintain the aforesaid basis, is constrained to make many sacrifices: and the Sicilian Constitution has produced no good effects whatever. What! the Sicilian Constitution has produced no good effects! To what then are we to

ascribe the improved civilization of the Sicilian? From what principle then is derived that patriotic spirit, which is seen warming the hearts of so many? Why make no account of such advantages, in spite of the shortness of the interval, during which the constitution was allowed to act; and of the immense obstacles opposed to it by the perfidious, whom it had already overcome? Why not recal the many vile manœuvres, which you yourselves, and your occult satellites, had recourse to, in order to retard its progress, and destroy it? Why not consider how little was done to second it? That if it did but little good, it did certainly some; and, at any rate, did no harm? Why not, on the other hand, reflect how much this same constitution, well supported by the government, has led the other nations to their very *apogeum* of glory and virtue? Why ..... But it is needless to dwell so long on a point so very clear; so well authenticated by facts, experience, and the constant testimony of all ages.

And how can it ever be asserted that the Sovereign restricts himself to the most painful sacrifices, on his adopting the foremen-tioned constitution? Then it is a sacrifice to the Prince, it is a sacrifice to the nation which he governs, to secure their prosperity? Yet who would not like to make such sacrifices? But say; such sacrifices made by the throne, are they real, or only apparent ones? Are they necessary for the public good, or quite superfluous?

Are they but *apparent*, and not *real?* Then do you not abuse your Sovereign's credulity, and hold out to him at all times the shadow for the substance? Are they real? And would you have him avoid making them, when it is demonstrated that such sacrifices are indispensible in the said system; which system is so advantageous to the state? This is as much as to say: Sire, do not do that, which is for the benefit of your kingdom: Irritate, do not sooth, the minds of your people: Expose to danger, do not secure from harm, your venerable old age. Are they

necessary and conducive to the public good? And do you, ye most illustrious counsellors, wish the Sovereign to dispense with them? Then you imagine him quite an egotist. You consider him as a fool; or you would wish him a traitor to the country: *an egotist*, by believing him incapable of sacrificing to the public good any trifling and petty private interest: *a fool*, by deeming him so very stupid, as not to perceive that the true glory of a Prince is derived from the splendour of his subjects; that his power and greatness are grounded on the prosperity and strength of the people, over whom he presides: and that the nobility of the throne is exalted in proportion to the worthy qualities of the citizens, on which aggegrate qualities it rests: *a traitor*, by making him neglect to fulfil the obligations, which he contracted, when he took into his hands the reins of government; by inducing him thus to neglect consulting the happiness of the state, which he then promised to attend to; and by making him lose the means calculated to secure, perpetuate and enlarge it.

Are these sacrifices *superfluous?* Then you are the more able to direct his actions with the greatest success; to activate him in the way the most suitable possible, towards prospering the nation to the very utmost. Alas! You still then wish to treat him as a fool; and such a fool as to perceive how much he has hitherto been deceived, and consequently what a wretched figure he has made in the face of all Europe; how much the splendour of his throne is eclipsed, and his people degraded; and, what is more, how much one still strives at present to impose upon him by such artifices.

But without dwelling any longer on the reasons here adduced,deign but to reveal to us whether sincerely, truly and really you wish your Sovereign the absolute, independent and despotic head of the government for his own proper advantage; or only, for your own private ends, to humour your own whims, passions and malefic intentions? Let us examine attentively an article of such importance as this; and then we shall see if the sacrifices

necessary for the throne to make, in order to maintain the constitution, regard the Prince or only his Ministers.

What then are these sacrifices? That the Sovereign shall not be able to dismiss, whenever he pleases, the judges, whom he has once elected. A great sacrifice this, to be sure! But in what manner would he wish such to be dismissed? In a regular, or an arbitrary manner? For any crime they have committed, or from mere caprice?

In the first supposition, the affair rests with the Magistrate. It is consequently the law, and not the Sovereign, to degrade them. The proposed system does all this perfectly well by means of the Parliament. In the latter supposition, what reason can authorize such a dismissal? Not justice; nor the common good neither. If the judge wants capacity, it was the fault of the Ministry to have chosen him, not that of the constitution. If he is upright, he can only be displaced from a wish to oppress merit, to encourage crime,

and in order always to have iniquitous judges. If he is guilty, why conceal his guilt from the eye of the public? Why not convict him regularly, and afford in his punishment an example to others, which may induce them to avoid similar errors; make them abhor all prevarication; and may engage them to love uprightness and justice? But were this so, you could no longer delude the Prince, exalt the unworthy, and degrade the well deserving. This indeed is the most painful and effective sacrifice to be made; but by you only; and merely nominally by the Sovereign: a sacrifice however of the utmost possible advantage to the state.

The second supposed sacrifice required of the prince, is that he can no longer make laws on the bare proposal of his counsellors; and can only approve or reject those proposed by Parliament. What does this imply? A translation of his trust; or a cession of his power? A new acquisition of light upon the subject; or a loss of power in the Sovereign? Is it pretended by this system that the prince

should rely on wiser and less suspected counsellors; or that his counsels should be rendered devoid of truth and reason? That his Ministers should act the part of prudent statesmen, in union with the people's illustrious representatives, and in the view of the whole nation; or that they should act by themselves alone, and in the dark? What is thereby intended? Nothing certainly but to oblige them to study the interests of virtue, and the country, not those of caprice: but to train them to seek the advantage of the Sovereign, not to betray him: but to make them love clearness in every thing; not more to court confusion and darkness, in order to hide the truth and to oppress the state. If this, gentlemen counsellors, seems but a small matter to you, tell us, moreover, on what grounds are we to believe you the most infallible, the most *artassic* of men; superexcellently virtuous, the tutelary geniuses of the people, and the true palladium of the public safety? We are assured of this beyond a doubt by the facts narrated; by your wish to act always in the dark; by the aver-

sion which you shew to all assistance from others, and copartnership; by the hatred you entertain to the constitution; which, in fine, only offers to lend you the knowledge of the wise, and the best instructed in the kingdom on its means, resources, and wants; to enable you thereby to judge rightly, to look forward with prudent foresight, and to act with sure success.

The remaining sacrifice is, that the Sovereign cannot of himself levy troops, nor lay on taxes; and that he must oblige his Minister of finance to give an account to Parliament of the manner in which the public money is administered.

One may answer the proposed query, on attending to the following observations. Every government may find itself placed in ordinary or extraordinary circumstances. In ordinary circumstances, the compleon of the civil list is quite sufficient. In the constitutional system the Sovereign is perfectly

furnished with all such necessary means. Then he makes no sacrifice in adopting an establishment, which, in the regular position of the state, provides him with every thing necessary.

Extraordinary circumstances in the next place, as they create great wants, and occasion consequences of the highest importance; it is necessary that the government secure ways and means the most proper for avoiding those that are hurtful, for meeting those that are inevitable, for not losing the favourable ones, as well as profiting of the opportunities which they present: and it is also equally clear that the system which can best succeed in these respects, must be the most honourable one for the Sovereign, and the most advantageous one for his kingdom. If, therefore, the constitutional one can afford to your present prince such an advantageous aptitude, instead of forcing him to make sacrifices, it secures his authority, constitutes his glory and enhances the splendour of his throne.

Say then, gentlemen counsellors, will your King be more apt to realize this by exposing himself to the conflict of the basest passions, while directed by occult and double-dealing assessors; or by acting with a view to the public good, in the sight of the whole nation and of its enlightened representatives; always regulating his conduct in the most important affairs according to their knowledge and experience. Who have shewn most on past emergencies such an aptness in governing; The King of England, or the other European Princes? Who induced that nation to make the greatest exertions? Who obtained the most powerful reinforcements? Who cut the least awkward figure? Who appeared with still growing splendour in the face of Europe? Ye dark agents of *Erebus!* Ye gloomy satellites of delusion! Contemplate this parallel, and tell us now, if you dare, that your Monarch is the loser, and must make sacrifices, by adopting a system that places him in so imposing and advantageous an attitude. Tell us . . . . . No, say rather whether the projected establishment afflicts you the more on

account of the ascendant which it gives your Sovereign; or of the thraldom to which it infallibly subjects your caprice; whether it torments you, because your prince, no more exposed to be led astray by your false and ruinous measures, is less subject to fail in his undertakings; or because you thus lose the means and opportunities of betraying him; of holding forth your influence to sale; of favouring the enemy's interest; of impoverishing the nation; of degrading it; and turning all things topsey turvey in it? Does it grieve you at being obliged to account to Parliament for the administration of the public finances? It is admitted that *they, whose deeds are evil, hate the light.* It were not possible for you, under such an order of things, to dilapidate so freely the substance of the poor; nor to sanction the public plunderings of your favourites. The state could thus be no longer exposed to bankruptcies, nor the Sovereign obliged to have recourse to means the most ruinous to his people; the least satisfactory to himself; but affording endless resources to those who counsel him. It were not possible . . . . . But yes, it is very possible,

and even a duty to be performed at all risks, both for the advantage of princes and subjects, to unmask deceit and expose hypocrisy ; which, for the scourge of humanity, and to the disgrace of your Monarch, are still maintained so high in office. (135.)

Political Transformation.

Sire, In mythology, we read of metamorphoses the most astonishing. We notice daily in natural history the most beautiful *phases.* In philosophy the transformation of bodies is discussed. Pythagoras cried up his *metempsicosis.* The Old Testament relates the transformation of a Nebuchadnezzer ; and the New the Redeemer's glorious transfiguration. In diplomacy, however, it has never yet been heard of that Sovereigns, without changing their form, may alter their figure. It was in you, Sire, that, for the first time has been admired a phenomenon, not less new, than interesting in politics. From *Ferdinand the fourth* you are changed to *Ferdinand the first* : and of the three *Ferdinands,* your predecessors, of all their actions, and yours be-

fore the year 1815, a most singular medley and hodgepodge is made.

Ferdinand the fourth was a constituted King; and his kingdom, (where the succession to the crown was hereditary) passed in succession to the first born.

Ferdinand the first is a new King, free to act *ad libitum*, and to dispose at pleasure of his dominions.

As soon as it was proclaimed that *Ferdinand the fourth* was become *Ferdinand the first;* the constitution of Sicily was abolished: that island was stripped of its ancient privileges; and your first-born, the legitimate heir apparent of your kingdom, was not a little thwarted, and his life even exposed.

It would appear from all this that the proclaimed change of your title was not merely accidental; and that your political transformation had perhaps before hand some purposed tendency to such events. But in chang-

ing so the destiny of the kingdom, must not you also, Sire, undergo a considerable change? Are you no longer therefore, that free and independent Sovereign, which you were at first? Why so new a proceeding? or what can it indicate? according to Newton's axiom, *Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate;* Beings are not to be multiplied without necessity: and if your assessors, on the point under consideration, did not mean to make you contradict this principle; they then in effect declared that your political transformation was absolutely necessary for realizing the end thereby proposed. They therefore affirmed that *Ferdinand the fourth* ought not, and could not be fit for accomplishing that end; and that *Ferdinand the first* had been nominated for the purpose of overturning all that *Ferdinand the fourth* had established: Consequently that either all that this last had done was unworthy of the throne, and oppressive to the people; or that all what the former was wishing to do, was against the interests of his subjects, and unjustly eclipsed

the glory of his real predecessor, though nominal successor.

Sire, which of the two mentioned Ferdinands, the fourth and first, will be in the right? To what can the difference of their principles be ascribed? Or rather can any difference exist between perfidy, stupidity and bad faith, and persons so identified with these vices as your actual Ministers are? Is it possible to divide from their mischievous design already explained, of oppresing your people, that of so subjecting your Majesty to the most degrading figure, and of inducing you to take the most antipolitical steps possible, in order to make you forfeit for ever both your kingdom and your honour? So much did they accomplish, Sire; and this now your other advisers would wish to accomplish also. In the past, they had nothing else at heart, but to engage you in the most preposterous measures; to humble you as much as possible; to continue to oppress your subjects, and thus to destroy your power: they

wished but to betray your friends, and your most distinguished protectors, in order to promote the interests of the common adversary. Their whole endeavours at present are to render your sway oppressive to those of your people who are the most attached to you; to engage you in acts the most opposed to the prosperity of your subjects, and to the honour of the Allied Sovereigns; nor have they in all this any other view but to make Europe deplore the loss of Napoleon; to regret his system; to favour his influence; to promote his wishes; and to make the people look with a jealous eye upon the conduct of their princes. There is not, Sire, an act so conducive to the glory of Bonaparte as that of humbling and debasing those, who had always opposed him, and frustrated his attempts. This is what your assessors are just now doing. This is the most effectual means to excite discord in Europe, and to compromise your existence together with that of the other Sovereigns. From such principles behold the consequences that must follow. You have experienced them in the

past; but you alone then suffered, as alone exposed to the malignant influence of such principles. You may now be sensible of this truth, on reflecting on the observations hitherto submitted to you. Facts will not be wanting to confirm it, if the reasons of analogy, which here follow, should not prevail upon you to open at length your eyes, and behold the brink of that precipice to which you have been dragged; and towards which you yourself are so thoughtlessly hastening.

Parallel drawn between the Principles and the Consequences observed in Spain; between the System already adopted there, and the Effects it is likely to produce on the Two Sicilies.

Sire, among the principles acknowledged for certain by philosophers, there is the following one: *The same causes always produce the same effects.* What were the causes which have just produced in Spain the change of the government? They were the following: *Perfidy, bigotry, and the stupidity of those who counselled the Monarch: the cheats put upon*

the Prince; and the improved state of civilization, in which his subjects now find themselves.

What is the actual state of your people? What is the character, what the drift of those, who now counsel you? What the position of your Majesty? All in the exactest identity possible. Deign only to attend to the matter, and you will find it to be so. The influence of the French Ruler, in the late emergencies, had surrounded with his secret agents the actual Monarch of Spain. They, always anxious to promote the interests and the glory of their liberal Mecenas, had rendered their prince a mere organ to be played upon by others; and which yielded only the tune that Bonaparte liked best to hear. Thus deluded and misguided, that Sovereign listened no more to the voice of his real friends, who in vain strove to free him from so fatal an illusion. He remained deluded, and, compelled thus to make a most pitiful figure in the eye of Europe, he was reduced to the most distressing and hopeless situation. His heroic nation,

indignant at finding itself so unworthily sold, and betrayed, resolved, as if in spite of himself, to replace him on his throne. Its dauntless courage, its constancy, and the sacrifices it cheerfully as spontaneously made; the assistance also and co-operation of that high and mighty power, which never refused its helping hand to the oppressed, and is always ready to support the weak against the strong; as well as the stupenduous talents of that illustrious Duke, whom it entrusted with the command of its armies; succeeded at last in bringing back to his capital the exiled Monarch. The Ruler of France, finding himself under the necessity of surrendering him up, endeavoured to profit of the very misfortune, to which he had reduced him; and on liberating him, whom he could no longer detain his prisoner, he compelled him to swear friendship to him; and at the same time persuaded him to follow the advice of those who had formerly assisted him. As soon as his Catholic Majesty had reached his capital, he thought himself bound to fulfil the engagement he had contracted in his French prison;

and therefore trusted himself to those whom he thought his friends, but who were his real enemies, and the enemies of his people. Their only object was to enhance the glory of their occult protector, while they imposed upon their prince, and induced him to act wrong, merely in order to justify the treatment which Napoleon had shewn him. They strove, therefore, to render him ungrateful to his defenders, and to make him appear both silly and cruel. All they, who had so generously supported his cause in his absence, were thus persecuted, imprisoned or banished. The jesuits were recalled. The holy, or rather diabolical inquisition was re-established. The good were degraded; the virtuous insulted; the iniquitous exalted; and Great Britain, that generous power, which had done so much for Spain and its prince, saw itself the most traduced, thwarted and abhorred.

Could an enlightened and observing people, whose courage had been exalted, in spite of the restrictions on the press of their own country; but who noticed every thing in the

public and independant journals of the other kingdoms, remain longer in the humiliating situation, in which they were placed? The revolt of the American colonies was the first fruit of such an ill advised conduct. Such an event ought to have opened the eyes of that prince on his return back to his kingdom. But the wicked, who closely besieged him, and made him look at every thing through the prism of their own opinion, prevented this from happening. His people therefore had recourse to more violent remedies. The ferment had already extended itself all over the kingdom; when at length it fully broke out. Then did the prince in fine perceive the deluded state in which he was placed. The inquisition, bigotry, and perfidy were discarded. The wishes of his people gratified, and the change of government effected with a calmness, that truly does honour to the heroic and generous character of the Spanish nation, one so worthy of the highest destinies.

Happy her prince, if he continues, in union with his people, to study with his own in-

terests those of his kingdom; to root out hypocrisy, bigotry and perfidy from his dominions; and, according to the constitutional system already approved of, to substitute patriotism and the social virtues that accompany it, in their stead! The American colonies, which refused obedience to an oppressive government, will rejoice now to unite once more with their fellow countrymen under a liberal system of reciprocal advantage. Hesperia will soon perceive her growing population, and will become the refuge of the unjustly persecuted and oppressed; while her prince, assisted by the wise, by real citizens, will find himself seated on a nobler throne, more majestic and secure; enriched with more permanent resources, and with far more abundant means, than ever he could formerly boast of.

Sire, In the past emergencies you threw yourself into the arms of your actual counsellors. What figure did your government then make? Remember what Napoleon said of it. Think how weak the force was,

which you mustered; how limited your abilities were; how few the resources, which you were able to draw from the nation subjected to you.

What figure did your government make in Sicily? While the sound of it cannot yet have ceased singing in your ear, is it possible, Sire, that you should not at least remember it? What is your government at present? Contemplate it in the strictures upon it which are here submitted to you. Those, most attached to you, are oppressed. They are deprived of the favours conceded to them. They are stripped of their ancient privileges. The perfidious, the *sacrilegious calumniators* of your honour; they who endeavoured to support the cause of Napoleon; to betray the measures of your friends; to ruin your Majesty for ever, and mar the interests of the Allied Sovereigns; they, who are heaping all their own infamy on your royal shoulders; are the only ones who now triumph; placed as they are at the head of the government of your kingdom: while those who have deserved

well of their country, of your Majesty, of the Allies and of Great Britain, are made the butt of their hatred. The acts of the European Princes are opposed; and their virtue insulted. The greatest ingratitude is shewn to your most distinguished protectors. The Free Masons and Carbonarians, that is, the most powerful subjects in your kingdom, are persecuted. *Espionage*, the wildest bigotry, and the most shameless hypocrisy, are exalted beyond all measure. Arbitrary imprisonments, and banishments, *ignotâ causâ*, are authorized and protected. The very personal security of the citizen, if not quite forfeited, is too clearly compromised; and rivalry and faction, the first principles of anarchy, are fomented. If all these acts do not tend to exalt the glory of the late Ruler of France; to favour the interest of your enemy; to make you forfeit the confidence and the esteem, and to deprive you of all the assistance of the other Sovereigns, as well as of the affections of your own subjects; what other facts, pray, can be better adapted for such a purpose?

Be assured, Sire, this is the point, towards which the iniquitous and perfidious wretches, who are just now your counsellors, are driving you. If the prospect of all that is thence so naturally to be inferred, cannot rouse you : if the consideration of the fate of Spain be not sufficient to move you ; if the reflection that *the same causes always produce the same effects*, is incapable of determining you ; let at least the advice of the Divine Redeemer awaken you from your slumber. *If your eye*, says he, *offend you, pluck it out and cast it from you ;* and if all this is still not enough to induce your Majesty to remove so dire a scandal from you ; let the sweet recollection that, while by the side of the faithful *Tanucci*, you were the delight of your children, and the real idol of the state ; that the hearts of your subjects overflowed with joy at beholding you, while all the other powers esteemed and respected you, suffice to do so.

Sire, Your people long to see you such again. Such is also my most earnest wish ; impelled

by which, I cease not, nor will ever cease, to implore the Most High to grant your Majesty that grace so necessary to Sovereigns, which the royal prophet never ceased praying for: *Domine da mihi intellectum, ut vivam:* and in spite of all the subterfuges of the wicked,

I am, and ever remain,

Your Majesty's

most faithful and humble Subject,

FRANCIS ROMEO.

NOTES.

NOTES.

(1) On attending to the events that took place after the said marriage, one will easily perceive that not only the changes that happened in your own court and in that of Murat, were owing to that circumstance; but that the vertiginous spirit which seized Bonaparte himself, originated in such an illustrious connection. The confidence with which it inspired Napoleon, made him consider himself as now perfectly secure. He therefore deemed it vain to fix his hopes elsewhere, and useless to follow up any further his wonted *Machiavelism*, on which he had till then entirely depended. Such a new order of ideas and principles developed in his character the passions, which in a manner denaturalized his system; and to all his rare prudence and foresight succeeded the most marked imprudence and negligence. From that time forward he appeared less cautious in his enterprises; more arrogant in his language; and too precipitate in his designs. His fellow warriors were insulted; his most distinguished marshals offended; his chief minister despised; and his own brother, whom he had made King of Holland,

humbled in the extreme. Murat was excessively irritated; his war with Spain, was, in the most anti-political manner, carried on; the Free Masons were too violently injured; and his final misfortune was the consequence of his too great security. Thus the marriage he had lately contracted, exalting his confidence, occasioned his giving into all his ruinous measures.

(2) The following facts will demonstrate the truth of what is here mentioned.

(3) The proof of these principles are the facts that followed them, and which are detailed in their several places.

(4) The circumstances here mentioned are so well known in your kingdom, that it would be bringing *owls to Athens*, to repeat them here, or take any further notice of them.

(5) The whole of what is mentioned in this paragraph, is already public in Naples and Calabria. There are living in *Palma*, *Scilla*, and at *Pezzo* some, who of beggars are become rich, with the clandestine traffic in colonial produce, carried on with the connivance of the Commanders at that time. The death of *Saliceti*, the incidents that accompanied it, and the changes that followed it, are most notorious.

(6) Nothing could be more public than this. The Sicilian journals dilated upon it; and the British Ga-

zette, published at Messina, mentioned the whole circumstance.

(7) This occasioned much rejoicing at Naples; and the Sicilian papers were full of it.

(8) This was Bonaparte's design, on his invading the kingdom of Naples: witness his proclamation issued on that occasion.

(9) This was unanimously declared to be the case by the Sicilian Conspirators. It was manifested by them to the officer in the British service, whom I succeeded in introducing to them, instead of the French envoy, whom they so anxiously expected, and had solicited, in order to examine and decide upon the means they had made choice of, and were employing to revolutionize the island. This fact is proved by the earnest endeavours of your Ministry and collaterals to favour the designs of Bonaparte; by the motives that separated Murat from Napoleon; by the steps taken and executed on the occasion by Lord Wm. Bentinck; by the necessity your late consort was under of quitting the island; by the secret treaty between Murat and the British Plenipotentiary; by the pretensions of your late competitor to the Marquisate of Ancona; and by Austria claiming to herself his rights to that place, by the title of conquest, on her having defeated him.

(10) These messages were so mysterious, that they called the attention of the British Commanders, and awakened their suspicions.

(11) Measures the most notorious.

(12) A fact well known to the whole French army and to the English Generals then in Sicily ; and a fact that proves clearly Napoleon's diffidence in Murat ; and the original motives of their mutual disgust.

(13) Murat's conduct in Calabria in 1810, the enemy's army in sight on the above mentioned occasion, makes it quite clear to whoever attends to these incidents, that he had formed combinations at that time in concert with the British Commanders in Sicily. Your Ministry might well have perceived, or at least suspected it.

(14) This circumstance, so known to the two opposite armies, does it not clearly prove that the said disembarkation, realized in the manner in which it was, had been previously combined and agreed upon, only in order to deceive Bonaparte, and thus to forward the interests of the new occult confederates ?

(15) A circumstance so well known, shews sufficiently the motives your Assessors had for acting as they did. Perhaps they wished at that time that the enemy should enter Sicily ; or that the English army, on finding itself exposed to such imminent danger, should determine on quitting your dominions.

(16) This appears by Murat's declaration, in which he orders his troops from Calabria. So obvious a

pretence shews the secret motives that influenced him.

(17) The complaints made to your court by General Stuart, and the reports transmitted by him to his own government, towards the end of 1810, evidently prove these facts.

(18) All the Conspirators against the British army in 1811, were the particular favourites at your court in 1810. They were also such in 1814, and they are still such at this present moment ! !

(19) The whole British army knew very well the reasons their commander had, for thus wishing to be recalled from his command : and the uniting in the person of his successor the political as well as military authority, shews what they were.

(20) To be convinced of Murat's intentions, so clearly manifested, it suffices to notice the difference of his style at that time used towards the English : His allowing in so friendly a manner a clandestine commerce to be carried on betwixt Sicily and Calabria ; the conduct also of Napoleon himself, in granting superior powers in that province, to Lieut.-General Manhés, whom he not only rendered independent of Murat, but even destined to watch over his motions. Considering besides the conduct of Lord William Bentinck on that occasion ; the resolute manner, in which that noble Lord disposed with the greatest

ease, and realized with the utmost success, the most arduous and dangerous undertakings, demonstrates in the clearest manner possible, how matters then stood; and shews evidently how much those were mistaken, who, as not in the secret, imagined his projects too daring, and his conduct rather rash and imprudent.

(21) A fact so very well known, needs only here be hinted at.

(22) This project was admitted in a court-martial; and it were more than pyronism to doubt it.

(23) The scarlet colour of these fish was the emblematic signal used by the Conspirators in their correspondence; and by which they alluded to the red uniform of the English army, against which they were plodding mischief.

(24) What stupidity! What perfidy! I dare to stile it such! Could the one be more clearly proved; or the other be more evidently demonstrated? These ruffians were in close correspondence with the enemy, as their letters intercepted prove. They had asked of General Manhés, an officer of high rank, in order the better to concert with him, and determine on the measures to be pursued. A sham correspondence was able to defeat the real one. A British officer was introduced to them as the wished-for envoy of Bonaparte; to whom they thought proper to confide their whole secret; and to make over to him a list of all the

heads of the conspiracy that were then dispersed all over Sicily. Stupendous wisdom! sublime foresight! incomparable merit! which so establish their right to hold, as they now do, the most distinguished situations in the state! And, as for their perfidy, who can avoid seeing it, on only looking at the uninterrupted series of their wretched attempts?

(25) Let it be observed that General Manhés had received secret instructions, not known to Murat; on whom he was not dependant. But was in direct and full correspondence with Napoleon on the one hand, and with the Sicilian Conspirators on the other. That the secrets of your collaterals on the project in contemplation, were those also of the court at Paris; and that your assessors had communicated them already to the heads of the Conspirators in Messina; charging them to see them executed; and to correspond with the officer destined to decide on the merits of their plan. It may be inferred from all this, whether the secrets of Napoleon, and those of your collaterals, in this affair, could have come or not under my knowledge.

(26) It were indeed needless for me here to enter into a minute detail of all the means I used in order to ascertain this fact; and to verify or clear up the suspicions already formed by the British commanders. It were equally needless to enumerate the expedients I was obliged to have recourse to, in order to distinguish the designs, to make certain of the correspon-

dence, and to prevent the attempts of the above-mentioned Conspirators. It would be quite superfluous to describe all the circumstances accompanying the stratagem, by which I was able to substitute the English officer, and make him pass with them for the much longed-for envoy of Bonaparte; in which I succeeded, in spite of their open and uninterrupted correspondence with the enemy on the one hand, and with your most illustrious collaterals on the other. It will suffice merely to observe, that the plan proposed was completely realized; and that your now so wise, so enlightened assessors, were then put under a course of henbane medicine, which so affected their optical nerves, and deranged the angles of their sight, that it made them see every thing double or reversed.

Et solem duplicem, et duplicem se ostendere Thebam.

A sham correspondence quite defeated the purpose of the real one: and, though furnished by some unknown fatality with the easiest means of discovering the trick put upon them, these so prudent politicians were not able then to distinguish the shadow from the substance. They embraced a cloud for a Juno; and a British officer was welcomed by them, as Napoleon's envoy; reverenced as such, and admitted by them without any scruple or delay, to the full knowledge of their most hidden mysteries! Wisdom! prudence!

penetration! judgment! If you want an empty seat, hasten to occupy the vacant one ready for you in the incomparable brain of the illustrious quadrupeds, whom industrious perfidy has placed so close to the throne on the banks of the *Sebetus!*

(27) This list, written and signed by the conspirators themselves; and, in order to make it pass safely into the hands of Bonaparte, consigned to the supposed French envoy; passed, however, into my hands, instead of those of the one for whom it was designed. It was presented to the Quarter-Master-General Donkin, Lieut.-General Maitland, and Lord William Bentinck; and, after having been produced at the court-martial, and copied into the public journals; it was publicly burned; which circumstance made the magnanimity and foresight of those British commanders shine forth the more conspicuous by thus removing from your subjects every motive of suspicion, dislike, and diffidence, in their own regard; and they thus made themselves be the more admired, esteemed, and beloved by all.

(28) This was the plan arranged by the conspirators of Messina and General Manhés, in concert with Napoleon. The existence of this plan was acknowledged by the secret commission of the British Army; and of this very plan the conspirators themselves had spoken to the above mentioned British officer.

(29) *Manner in which the French army was to have effected their landing in Sicily, and in which all the English were to have been massacred.*

By a gradually anticipated movement, all the gun-boats on the coast of Naples and Calabria, and the troops in the kingdom, were to have met at the same point of time at the place destined for their embarkation, in order to take by surprize the Pharo of Messina; and thus by shutting up those streights, and rendering them inaccessible to ships of war, to reduce all Sicily under a military form, to a kind of peninsula, so as to be influenced by all the disposeable forces in France and Italy.

In the very act of the above mentioned attempt, the conspirators against the English, apprized by signals mutually agreed upon, were all to have met at Messina at the same time, and in conjunction with those on the spot, to have snrprized the English residing in the place, together with the British Garrison stationed there; and to have dispatched them in their lodgings and quarters, where they were quietly living, without any dread or suspicion of danger.

The Sicilian flotilla, apparently combined with the English one, in the act of opening their fire upon the enemy, were to tack about, and attacking the English flotilla in the rear, to join the French. The Sicilian land forces were to act in the same manner against the English quartered in the towns and forts, and the enemy in the mean time was to have multiplied his attacks at various points, and to have extended as much as possible his forces in every direction.

(29) From motives of that delicacy, which so characterizes great and generous minds, and which makes them forbear exposing the villainy of those, by whom they have been injured or insulted, Lord William Bentinck, did not think proper to allow me to publish the official documents of the correspondence and combinations that took place in Sicily. It is not however from this circumstance alone that the truth of the above mentioned particulars is to be learned. It will appear clearly from the acts themselves of his Lordship, from those of Murat, and from the very conduct of your own government. If not from the *a priore* statement alluded to, it must evidently be confirmed from the *a posteriore* one; and had not such an understanding subsisted between the parties concerned, as the one I have mentioned, neither Murat, nor Lord William Bentick, nor your Majesty, could have acted in the way you did; and which your whole kingdom and all Europe have witnessed.

(30) I must here frankly confess that it would have been impossible for me to have obtained the evidence had, of the designs of your favourites and collaterals, in concert with the French ruler, had Murat been really willing to have seconded Bonaparte; and had he not been at that time instigated by powerful reasons to facilitate the obtaining of the above mentioned intelligence by the British commanders.

(31) This person, as the witness of the concerted plan between Bonaparte and your assessors, was de-

tained, and shut up in the fort of Palermo; where he durst declare, what would horrify those who heard it.

(32) He was degraded from his military rank, and strangled as a felon.

(33) Such a proceeding should clear up the reality of the attempt in question. It augmented the suspicions, and increased the doubts conceived by Murat; and alieneated him still more from Bonaparte. This proved clearly to your Majesty the stupidity, the incapacity, and the silly and weak perfidy of such iniquitous conspirators; of such *sacrilegious calumniators;* and served to undeceive you; which circumstance if you deign to recollect, was the effective means of replacing you on the throne of your ancestors: it was what dissipated every illusion, and made every one evidently perceive the energy, vigilance, and wisdom of the British representatives, till then thought so short sighted by the above mentioned conspirators.

(34) The effect proved the cause; and made you see what sort of interest these wretches took in your honour. It ought also to prove to you that their endeavours to forward the above mentioned enterprize, were made only with a view to ruin you; to sell you over to the common enemy, but not to assist and make you recover your lost kingdom. This fact also, by the law of contraries, ought to convince you that they were the British Commanders only, and their real friends,

who secured your most sacred interests and those of the country.

N. B.—No. 28 ought to be at page 20 line 3.
29 — — — do. — 6
30 — — — do. — 11
31 — — — do. — 17
32 — — — do. — 18
33 — — — 21 — 15

The first No. 34 of the notes, is referred to page 21,line 24, of the text.

(34) Sire, please only to remember the circumstance. This was one of the easiest matters to have been accomplished. Your subjects supported it. The enemy favoured it. Among your familiars there were also some, who wished for it : but British generosity would not hear of it. Among all the English there was not one, who had approved of the arrest of the Spanish Monarch. Great Britain had enlightened, and never ceased to assist the deluded and humbled princes : and that illustrious plenipotentiary of her's, instead of seeking your ruin, sought only to save you.

(35) Had it not been for Lord Bentinck, either you would not now be a Sovereign ; or at any rate, you would not be looked upon as that upright and faithful Sovereign which now you are.

(36) Your Majesty cannot have forgotten these facts, as they were all your own.

(37) Had not the British army been so cordially and efficaciously seconded by the Sicilians, it would

have been placed in too critical a situation, and on more occasions than one, completely destroyed: nor would its Commander in Chief have ever ventured to have attempted, what he so easily and successfully accomplished. If this army then was so favoured and seconded by your subjects; what else could have so secured to it their attachment, but the rational and wise conduct of its Chief?

(38) Those perfidious wretches, who besieged you, and who for your misfortune, are still placed by your side, doing all the mischief imaginable to the people subjected to your sway; had forced these to become quite disgusted with your government. Lord Bentinck, by persuading you to grant them that constitutional system, which was so well calculated to supply all their wants, and to secure for ever their rights to them, had succeeded in reconciling them to your Majesty, and your Majesty's government.

(39) Sire, if this has never struck you before, reflect upon it now. It was your late consort's departure from Sicily; it was the arrest and condemnation of the conspirators of Messina and Palermo; it was the spontaneous declarations of these made in an open court martial; and the changes, which were then seen to take place in your government; that confirmed Murat in the belief of the effective combinations existing between your favourites and the French Ruler; of the promises made by him to your late consort; and of the necessity he would see himself unavoidably reduced to, of restoring to you the kingdom of Naples, which

he held so dear; and it was, in fact, this belief and persuasion, that alienated him from Napoleon; that contributed so much to the downfall of both; and that replaced you on the throne of your ancestors: for all which, or in great measure at least, you are indebted to the prudence, generosity and good faith of *Lord Wm. Bentinck*, and to the truly illustrious and eminently wise conduct of Lieutenants General *Maitland*, *Donkin* and *Campbell*; who so ably seconded the exalted views of that noble Lord, and contributed so much to the final overthrow of your real enemies, and to the political changes which took place in Europe.

(40) Bonaparte's flattering promises, and Murat's idea of disclosing the combinations formed between your court and that of Paris, had certainly for object to divide your cause from that of Great Britain, and thus to weaken both parties. The wisdom, however, of the British representative knew so well to parry this subterfuge, that after having entirely defeated it, he made use of it with the greatest success, to divide Murat from Napoleon, and thus to ruin both of them.

(41) To deny this fact, it were necessary to deny first your own existence, that of your actual Ministers and counsellors, that of the British Plenipotentiary at the time, and of every English general, employed in 1811 in Sicily.

In order to perceive how very much the re-exaltation of the above mentioned Conspirators had been merited, it suffices only to reflect on the able manner in which they effected their purpose, and on the object

they had in view in forwarding it. To be convinced therefore of all that Murat had contributed towards the discovery of the English commanders from the discovery of their treachery, and the delivery of the English commanders from the snares which your collaterals were tending to the British army, it is more than sufficient to observe the change in Murat's conduct towards the English; the distrust which he thereby excited in Napoleon; and Lord Wm. Bentinck's own conduct on the occasion. If that noble Lord had not been perfectly aware of Murat's intentions, could he ever have induced you to decimate your army, and to allow the officers dismissed to go over to Calabria, and enter the service of your adversary? How much may be gathered from this fact alone! It then appears that Lord Bentinck had more reason to confide in Murat than in your government; or, at any rate, it is clear that by this stratagem he intended keeping up the illusion, and augmenting still more and more the suspicions of your rival.

(42) Sire, the facts here stated, are existing; and form many of your own proper decrees still in force.

(43) Remember, Sire, what Bonaparte said of your government; what Murat also declared concerning it; and what those induced you to do, who are now your advisers. The consequences thence derived, are clearly discussed and set forth in the work.

(44) *From the effects to their cause*: This is the best way to discover the truth; and to dissipate at

once all illusion. Weigh well the facts that have taken place; and you will find, Sire, who is the real friend of your Majesty; and who your most dangerous foe.

(45) The vessels had put to sea! How much, Sire, may be inferred from such a circumstance! Deign only to consider it.

(46) A fact, and a fact, which was on the point of being put into execution; the consequences of which might have been very different from those expected.

(47) Cruelty and barbarity never were accounted virtues.

(48) The whole country knows this to be a fact. Your Ministry thought fit to imprison me in the same fort, where Murat had been shot. I saw the marks of his blood. I was fully informed of the conversations that took place between Murat and the English vice-consul, by the nephew of this last, who was there confined with me. Salvatore Carullo, the keeper of that fort, related faithfully to me all that was said and done on that occasion. It is thus that I have been enabled to assert these facts.

(49) It were much to be wished that this report were exposed to your Majesty: It might help to undeceive you.

(50) This may still be seen by the very acts fabricated against Murat.

(51) The above mentioned commission was composed of the criminal procurator of Montileone, Giovanni la Camera ; of the president, Signor Valeri ; of three criminal judges on the one side, and of General Fasulo, and several other officers of his staff, on the other. All the above mentioned judges owed their situations to Murat.

(52) This singular fact, which may well shew the design of the one who promoted it, appears among the acts of Murat's condemnation.

(53) This report was spread abroad in every place.

(54) No body can question the sensibility of your own heart, and the interest you have always taken in behalf of the unfortunate. Your iniquitous assessors have endeavoured to mar all its benefic influence, keeping you constantly removed from public concerns, and always striving to keep you completely in the dark, as to the wants of your people. On the occasion alluded to, those, who now counsel you, were extremely interested in doing so. They had to make all the haste possible, in order to screen themselves from an imputation which might have proved fatal to them, and would have unmasked them once more.

(55) From the complaints made to your Ministry by Lieutenant General Stewart ; and from the coldness observed between the British representatives and

your government towards the end of 1810 ; your Majesty may perceive the truth of the above assertion.

(56) The dilemma can only be contradicted in one of its points : and when one is denied, its contrary is affirmed.

(61) Behold the real motive that obliged your Ministers to rid themselves so hastily of the one, who had formerly ruined them, and who now would have fairly unmasked them.

(62) The principles here advanced are but as many axioms in *Dialectics.*

(63) What an important difference between Murat in 1810, considered as the aggressive invader of your dominions ; and what he appeared in 1815, when it was given out that he intended to re-usurp your kingdom ! And how worthy of admiration is not the attachment and zeal of your assessors for the interests of your Majesty, and those of the state, on considering the favours conferred by them on his agents of 1810 ; the atrocious manner in which they treated this Sovereign ; the remunerations, which at the same time they granted to his former assistants ; and the persecutions and insults, to which, at the same time, they subjected those, who had all along opposed and thwarted him !

(64) Either the prudence and foresight of these

your counsellors is much of a kin to that observed in quadrupeds ; or the identity of the effects must here unfold the true origin of their proceedings.

(65) Reason is the attribute of man ; only instinct is that of quadrupeds. Yet this last, if not blinded by the base passions, might so far be able to act right. But in the man quadruped, the base passions are always exalted, in proportion as good sense is depressed.

(66) Every one knows how inimical that city always was to the French. At the battle of Maida the *Pizzitans* rendered the most important service to the British army.

(67) If these *data*, in themselves undeniable, are admitted ; one must likewise admit that Murat, in the imagining, and in the endeavouring to realize the proposed project, either must have been mad, and deserved only to have been sent to *Anticyra* in quest of hellebore ; or else that he was betrayed and seduced, on which account his seducers were more deserving of punishment then he himself was ; or finally, that he never had the least idea of stirring up Calabria to revolt. As no punishment was inflicted on his seducers, we leave it to the supereminent wisdom of your Ministry to judge from this very circumstance of its own deeds.

(68) An effect can never exist without a cause; and according to Wolfius's principles, the effect must always hold a corresponding proportion with its cause.

(69) The foregoing proposition is explained by the observations already made; and by the very nature of the fact itself.

(70) Let the proposed *data* only be attended to; and they will confirm my assertion.

(71) By striving to make you insult your friends, to make you appear ungrateful to your protectors; and to hold you forth as unworthy of the favours, the esteem and confidence; and on the contrary, deserving of the detestation of every other Sovereign

(72) Views too clearly evinced by the aforesaid principles; and which will appear evident, if examined through Wolfius's telescope; that is to say, if we admit that the cause corresponds with its effect: and if we allow that contrary effects can never depend upon the same cause.

(73) How much might not a corollary, derived from such known principles, explain!

(74) If every effect must exactly correspond with its cause; if the zeal of your Ministers had sought by putting Murat to death, to consult the interests of your

Majesty ; to destroy iniquity, and to punish the promoters of anarchy ; why did these same Ministers of yours so very often betray both yourself and your people? Why do they still seek to discredit you so? Why, at the very time that they punished Murat as a disturber of the public peace, did they exalt so high the most notorious revolutionists ? And why did they not begin by themselves to shew the example of dislike to perfidy ? If these facts prove the contrary of what were necessary to demonstrate the existence of the principle sought for, the effect in question cannot be supposed derived from such a principle. It is therefore truly produced by the principle mentioned in the above paragraph.

(75) If the facts, principles and *data* hitherto laid down, suffice not to prove my assertion ; and should your collaterals, and their gloomy supporters, who have hitherto so favoured them, think of denying it ; we, who are ever ready to follow them, through all their subterfuges, will consider it as our most sacred duty to maintain it, and to make it appear to all in its clearest light.

(76) *Qué male agit, ódit lucem.* This only reason, or that of supposing the Allied Sovereigns unjust, unwise, and but the false friends of your Majesty, could have occasioned such precipitancy in the judgment passed upon Murat.

(77) Your Ministers and actual assessors, were

never, Sire, so overpowered with modesty, as that they should decline courting admiration for the transcendent wisdom which distinguishes them. Had their conduct been honourable, and their foresight truly admirable, why not openly boast of both, and leave your rival to the decision of the Allied Princes? This was a fine opportunity for setting off the dignity of their proceedings; the wisdom, with which they caught Murat in their net, and the ease with which they could prove his guilt.

(78) If, in the forementioned case, all was not done, which is mentioned in the preceding number; your counsellors have at least realized what in this number is specified.

(79) What then obliged them so to hasten Murat's trial and sentence? Nothing but the dread that he might unmask all their perfidy; or the want of sufficient evidence to convict him.

(80) What? the most evident contrariety betwixt their hearts and yours; betwixt the qualities of your mind and those of their tenebrific dispositions; the diversity of their designs; the difference of their motives, and the opposition of their wishes.

(81) This demonstrates the immense difference betwixt the principle, conduct and character of those employed by the British government; and those of your actual assessors. It shews what reason these last had to abhor so much the former; and it shews how

deservedly the first were insulted and depressed, and the last so glorified and now held worthy of esteem.

(82) If one attends to all that has been said concerning the British officer, substituted for the envoy of Bonaparte ; and to the way, in which was obtained from the conspirators themselves the list of their correspondents, and the most sincere declaration of their designs ; the truth of what has been before mentioned, will appear evident.

(83) You need only on this particular call to mind the facts acknowledged in the court martial, and the successive operations of your government.

(84) And at the moment when all was fraught with danger, in 1811.

(85) These facts, so well known to the whole kingdom, cannot but demonstrate either the most marked stupidity of your assessors, who while seeking to prove the existence of a principle, declare it by their very actions non existent ; or their most evident perfidy, which in the combination of the above *data*, so clearly betrays their real design ; quite the reverse of what you were given to suppose ; or in fine their supernatural power, that of being able so dexterously to invert every principle of science, admitted by philosophers as certain ; and of making appear false the well known axiom, and proof of analogy : *The identity of the effects proves the identity of the cause.*

(86) Who, but must be sensible of the greatness of the difficulty, and of the art with which it was over-

come ; as well as of the glory in having succeeded in an undertaking so very arduous, and from which such great advantages were to be derived !

(87) The Ruler of France had used the most seductive flatteries to bring you over to his own system. Lord Bentinck availed himself of the very promises of Napoleon, to separate Murat's interest from his ; and to make this last favour the cause of England, and of the Allied Powers ; and oppose at the same time that of Bonaparte.

(88) Sire, if you deign to observe the true motive that separated Murat from Napoleon, you will easily perceive that it was nothing but his persuasion that *Bonaparte intended restoring to the kingdom of Naples his aunt in law, your consort ; that which consequently would have deprived him of a kingdom, which he liked so very much.*

Calculating on such a principle, you will also be sensible that, in order to alienate Murat from Napoleon, it was necessary only to heighten the fears conceived by the former. Deign hence also to infer how much the very blunders committed by your collaterals, were calculated, when turned to good account, to secure the desirable object ; and on your observing how much they tended to augment Murat's suspicions, you may be able to judge of the wisdom of him, who so managed them. Sire, the arrest of the conspirators ; their conviction and condemnation ; the departure of your late consort from the island ; the changes observed to take place in your government ; were the

wisely imagined expedients, to make Murat believe that the above mentioned promise of Napoleon was real; and that he would infallibly lose his dominions, if he had not recourse to other means of preserving them. It was this consideration, and these circumstances, which made him change his conduct and system; and the incidents just mentioned, were the effective means that induced him to withdraw himself from the policy of Bonaparte, and attach himself to that of his enemies.

(89) If the means specified in the preceding number, were the cause of what is in this one detailed; and if those adopted by your Ministry were diametrically opposite to those above specified; by the law of contraries one may easily discover, that if Lord Bentinck succeeded in ruining your real enemies; your Ministry wished only to favour them, and to ruin your cause together with that of your friends. How great then, Sire, must the merit and the right be of the above mentioned conspirators, to see themselves so honoured and exalted in your kingdom; and how well deserved were the affronts offered in Naples, and by your government to Lord Wm. Bentinck, and to those who had merited most of the English ! !

(90) On calculating all the industrious perfidy, which has ever distinguished the lying Syrens, who then assisted your Majesty, and who still at present advise you; we are fully persuaded that the most glorious achievement of the British plenipotentiary was his having succeeded in so difficult an undertaking:

and difficult to such a degree, that his successor has not yet been able to realize it.

(91) In being obliged to follow the system, and share in the fate of Bonaparte.

(92) This truth is but the direct consequence of what has been observed on the above mentioned occasion.

(93) Can this fact, Sire, be unknown to you ?

(94) He appeared to wit, seated on the throne of your ancestors ; on which Murat's separation from Napoleon replaced you, and at the same time accomplished the ruin of them both.

(95) Sire, Murat in discovering to Lord Wm. Bentinck the combinations formed between your collaterals and the lateRuler of France, only wished to engage his Lordship to adopt the most violent measures against your government ; to ruin your Majesty for ever, and to induce Great Britain to break the engagements she had contracted with you,and the promises she had made you. But that prudent representative of England, instead of so tarnishing the glory of his country, only proved in the most evident manner how he could make those repent of their temerity, who supposed him capable of any action redounding to the dishonour of his nation.

(96) All this has been already sufficiently proved : and I should like here that your sacred assessors

would condescend to answer in a satisfactory manner every article; and that they would explain themselves to us in a language fit to be understood by poor mortals.

(97) Sire, Tinsel loses its lustre, the nearer it is compared with gold.

(98) We anxiously expect that your Majesty's counsellors will explain to us their ideas concerning the confidence with which this fact inspired them; in seeking so to break your connection with Great Britain, and to make you place all your reliance in Bonaparte; not on the magnanimity of the English government; which, instead of imitating the conduct of Bonaparte towards the King of Spain, shewed in fact how much it abhorred his proceedings; endeavouring to undeceive you, and to make you regain your lost throne, not to cast you down from that on which you were still seated; and from which the perfidy of your actual counsellors strove to make you descend.

(99) What a fine contrast does not this parallel exhibit!

(100) We should be willing to sacrifice to common sense, on learning that your actual counsellors had in fine resolved to tell us what real sense there was, if any such there were, in their above mentioned achievements. What did they mean to prove to Europe by putting your rival to death? That they wished to hold forth an example of terror to the revolutionary and

perfidious ? Or that they wished to insult those princes, by whom he was protected? Their first supposed intention was contradicted by their own proper actions ; their second, by their words, and theír most open protestations : in both one cannot help admiring the genuine character of those who are obliged to work in darkness, because they hate the light.

(101) Behold the most striking proof of *homogeneous affinity !* A spectacle, so frequently afforded by your actual counsellors, does certainly honour to their sacred character !

(102) The wretches, who now advise you, and who assisted you in the past emergencies, not content with having endeavoured to make you be calumniated for the past, at present strive to substantiate every shadow.

(103) Was it easy to have realized projects so very ill conceived, and directed by individuals so very unskilful, as those shewed themselves to be, who then and at present administer your kingdom ! Was it then so sure that Great Britain, in the event of her losing one army, had not the means of replacing it with another ?

(104) Was not this prince still detained a prisoner, ever after his newly contracted connection with Napoleon ?

(105) We are truly desirous that your Ministers would only attempt to refute this truth : as we should

then adduce in answering them, what would serve to unmask their perfidy for ever.

(106) Will your assessors, Sire, still dare to impose upon you on this score. Let them do so, if they will; but let them do so in a manner to be understood. We wait to learn their sublime ideas, in order to submit to you our lowly and humble observations on the subject.

(107) To deny a truth so well known, one must surely be more than a *Pyrronist*, or more obstinate than an *Eristic*.

(108) Let the conduct of the chiefs be examined, and our foregoing proposition will thereby appear evidently demonstrated.

(109) Such Sicily would become, had not the constitutional system, which Lord Bentinck and Great Britain had been anxious to grant it, incurred the dislike of those, who now counsel you.

(110) After examining the facts and observations here submitted, what ought we to conclude? That the friends of your Majesty and the country were those, who, in 1811, sought to unite you with Bonaparte, and to assassinate the English army? Or those who then strove to make you see through every subterfuge; to bind you in closer connection with Great Britain; and to withdraw you thus from wrong and ruinous measures? Sire, if it was a crime to have proved faithful to one's country, and to have concurred in undeceiving you, we own ourselves guilty;

and our crime will be always cherished by us : the misfortunes it has caused us will be more prized by us, than the exalted honours, with which those have been loaded, who are considered as true patriots, and eminiently faithful subjects at your court, for having endeavoured to make your Majesty appear in the face of Europe as *Ptolomy of Oretus ;* and for having strove to destroy all the British influence, and to expose the country to the usurpation of the late Ruler of France.

(111) Such is the wish of your collaterals, and the attempts which they long to see crowned with success. It is for the advantage of these perfidious wretches that your sway over the kingdom should be merely a chimerical one ; and its existence always but equivocal. Thus only might they be able to render themselves the idols of the state, and their interference on all occasions indispensable.

(112) Consequences and principle.

(113) Principle and consequences.

(114) Connection between the consequence and the principle, and between the principle and the consequence.

(115) Deign to look over the documents, by which, in 1808, your Majesty put the Calabrese *Corpo franco* under the immediate command of Lieutenant General Sir John Stuart ; and that, by which your officers were empowered to serve in the Anglo-italian regi-

ments in 1813. From these your royal diplomas the above mentioned fact appears.

(116) The encomiums bestowed by the British generals on the Calabrese and Italian corps, are already well known to the whole army, as they were transcribed into the daily orders.

(117) This fact was the result of the dispositions taken, after your restoration to your kingdom.

(118) It is not credible that your Ministers will think of denying this circumstance. The treatment I met with, was as follows : Without a hearing, though I always requested one; and without learning why ; I was arrested and dragged about from prison to prison, apparently without the least necessity, unless perchance it was wished to make known to the Sicilians as well as to the Neapolitans the scorn and contempt with which those were to be treated, who had deserved well of the English army ; and how little respect was to be shewn to the British uniform, which I happened to have on me, at the time of my being arrested ; and which I was never allowed to put off in all the windings and turnings I was thus forced to make in your two kingdoms in the most opprobrious and insulting manner.

(119) Permit me, Sire, to lay before you authentic documents, bearing testimony to my conduct. They will make known to you, my real character, as well as the good and evil I have done to your Majesty and

my country: and I should be curious to learn with what subterfuges the children of darkness will strive to invalidate them; as that would probably furnish new motives for our more fully detailing the above mentioned facts

Certificate

From the Local Authorities.

It is hereby certified by us, the undersigned, Syndic and Decurions of the town of Melicucca, that Doctor Francis Romeo, our countryman, and one of the first gentleman in the country, has always shewn a praise-worthy conduct, being an enemy to public disorder and the promoters of such, and ever animated with zeal for the good of his country.

In the month of October 1806, our people fired upon the French troops, but these having put their opponents to the rout, were on the point of burning and laying waste the country. Romeo, at the risk of his life, went to meet them at Palme, their head quarters, and by his *conciliating* manners prevailed on General Abbé, their commander, to *spare these, his fellow citizens, the threatened horrors, which had already begun to be put into execution on some houses.*

In 1809, the said Francis Romeo was made prisoner by the French government, as the upholder of the Anglo-Bourbon party in the *Calabrias,* which imprisonment cost him *enormous expences,* and much trouble and danger.

In June 1811, he was again arrested by General *Pacthod* for the same cause; but having, with an

opiate laid his guards asleep, he succeeded in escaping over into Sicily, to join his lawful Sovereign.

All these incidents, and services rendered to the state and his country, have put him to the greatest sacrifices, and obliged him to dilapidate a rich patrimony, which he enjoyed.

All which being true, we have made this present declaration, undersigned by us, and confirmed by the town seal.

Given in Melicoccá, the 9th of August, 1815.

Charles Buccisano, Sindic.
John Grillo, Decurion.
Raffael Passarelli, Decurion.
Laurence Gambacorta, Idem.
Dominick Arena, Idem.
Anthony Filardi, Idem.
Carmine Caloggero, Idem.
Ferdinand Buccisano, Idem.
Emanuel Spina, Idem.
John Anthony Genua, Idem.

(L. S.) Here is the Universal Town Seal of Melicoccá.

Acknowledged the authenticity of the signatures by the subintendant of the district of regium.

(Signed) Musolino.

(L. S.) Here is the seal of the subintendency registered in *Palme*, the 18th of September, 1815, Nov. 1st vol. 13th, fol. 57th, sixth division. Received for fees 22d grani for the General Receiver.

(Signed) G. Falvetti.

Recognised by the Royal Public Notary.
(Signed) Michiel Angiolo Suriano.

(L. S.) Here is the seal of the royal public notary.

Information,

Taken by order of D^y. Q^r. M^r. General Coffin.

Francis Carbone, Colonel of His Majesty's forces, Commander in Chief of the forces, and subintendant of the Provincial Militia of Cosenza.

According to the dispositions made by Colonel Coffin, Deputy Quarter Master General of the British army, it is certified by me, the undersigned, or entrusted with its secret commission, that Doctor Francis Romeo, at present Captain in the British service, son of Doctor William, and nephew of Doctor Felix, of Melicucca, is a gentleman of one of the most distinguished families for rank and fortune in Calabria. That in the month of October, 1808, he was commissioned by me as entrusted with the said secret commission, and *according to the arrangements of the British Commanders*, to augment the Anglo-Bourbon party in that province.

That in virtue of this commission, the said Romeo brought over many to the British interests, and induced them to act against the French army.

That in January 1809, a messenger of mine, named Francis Ceravolo, was apprehended by the enemy in the act of bringing over here letters and plans of Romeo, for the above mentioned purpose.

That in consequence of this, Romeo, and many of his most distinguished associates, engaged by him in

this undertaking, were arrested, and conveyed prisoners to Monteleone.

By successive accounts transmitted through the medium of the secret commission, it was ascertained, that the said Francis Romeo had been condemned to death, together with his associates, by a military commission held at *Monteleone*, but that by means of money, and in consequence of the report made by General *Parthonneaux*, Commander in Chief in Calabria, the sentence of death was commuted into that of his serving as a private soldier out of the kingdom.

That in this guise the said Romeo set out from his prison in Naples for the Roman states, where his talents having procured him patronage, he got to be appointed physician to the regiment, in which he had served as a private soldier.

That while holding this appointment, in 1810, he returned with the French army back to Calabria, whence, in June 1811, he succeeded in effecting his escape over to *Messina*, in order to avoid *a new prosecution*, which, at the period of Murat being in *Calabria*, fresh services rendered to the English army, had excited against him ; on which account he was compelled to abandon his country and his property.

That finally, in December 1811, he, the said Francis Romeo, assisted by the Qr. Mr. General Donkin, and in conjunction with said secret commission, rendered new and most important services to the British army in Messina.

The whole of which being unquestionably true, I

have formed thereon this present document, signing it with my own hand, and sealing it with the accustomed seal.

(Signed) COLONEL FRANCIS CARBONE.

Messina, 30th October, 1812.

(L. S.) Here is the seal of Colonel Carbone.

Lieutenant General Sir James Campbell's certificate as to the authenticity of the above.

Queen Ann Street, 4th August, 1817.

I do hereby certify, that I have had repeated occasion, to peruse both the writing of Colonel Carbone, and his clerk, who has drawn out the accompanying statement as above, and have no hesitation in saying, the signature, as well as the document are authentic.

(Signed) JAMES CAMPBELL,
Lt. Gen.

Lieutenant General Sir Frederic Maitland's certificate, as to the authenticity of Colonel Carbone's documents.

Sloane Street, 22d March, 1819.

I have examined this certificate, and particularly the signature of Colonel F^co^. Carbone, with whom I was well acquainted, and whose writing and signature I was in the daily habit of seeing when I commanded His Majesty's troops at Messina ; and I have no hesitation in saying that the signature is, in my judgment, in the hand writing of the same Colonel Francis Carbone.

(Signed) FREDERIC MAITLAND,
Lt. Gen.

Major General Sir Henry Bumbury's certificate as to Colonel Francis Carbone's official commission.

I certify, that Colonel Francis Carbone was employed in the year 1808, by order of Lieutenant General Sir John Stuart, (then commanding His Britannic Majesty's army in Sicily,) to procure secret information respecting the enemy, and to engage officers and men for the formation of the *Calabrese free corps*, which were afterwards taken into the pay and employed in the service of the British government.

(Signed) Henry Edward Bumbury,
Major Gen.

Certificate given by order of his excellence Lord W. Bentinck.

This is to certify that Captain Francis Romeo, native of Calabria, in the service of His Britannic Majesty, has always conducted himself with zeal for the good of the British army, and has rendered it useful and important service.

Palermo, 12th June, 1814.

By order of his excellency Lord W. Bentinck,

(Signed) L. A. Accourt,
Adj. Gen.

These facts now publicly known, and which your Majesty can best ascertain from the registers of the prison of *Santa Maria Apparente*, where in the year 1809, I was confined; and from the roll book of the second regiment of Neapolitan light infantry, into which, as a condemned and a private soldier, I was entered, may shew you, Sire, the part I had taken in

public affairs. The reward I have received for all this, has only been the most horrid confinement, the most opprobious exposure throughout your two kingdoms; exile from my country, the privation of my property, of all my hopes, of my every right: transported to barbarism, indigence and the plague! So great has my crime appeared in the eyes of your assessors, for having espoused your cause, and that of my country. Effects so analogous to their cause might have certainly been looked for, had one been able to have foreseen that the very same felons, who had attempted to ruin the whole country, to tarnish your Majesty's honour and compromise your very existence, whom you yourself had stiled *perfidious villains and sacrilegious calumniators*, should ever more make their appearance in your dominions, and pass there for the brightest luminaries of the state: or had there been any grounds to suppose, that after having done all, made such sacrifices, and exposed ourselves to the greatest dangers, in order to lessen the despotic influence of the late French Ruler, that, after having finally succeeded, we should find ourselves at last, for all our recompence, subjected to the despotism of his vilest agents; and compelled to adore in them the will of their prototype, and to worship in the most stupid of the children of anarchy the real malefic Deities of your empire.

Sire, after the realization of such extraordinary circumstances, and admitting so strange a cause, it was easy to foresee the above mentioned consequence. Your subjects observed it. The British Generals, under whose orders I have had the honour of serving,

had declared it. The English Ministry have ascertained it. The law of contraries confirm it. Nor does any thing further remain for me to do, but to submit to you here the documents that justify the idea of it. They also may contribute to undeceive you.

In the Prison of Santa Maria apparente, June 2, 1815.

To His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Naples.

Sir,

Honours, illustrious situations, and protection, these are what Naples now offers, to all who in Sicily betrayed the British army.

Imprisonment, opprobrium, and banishment, these are what Naples bestows on all, who have faithfully served the English there. This is all that those attached to the English have to expect on their reaching this place. From the enclosed documents you will learn, Sire, what my services have been? What is now their consequence? By order of the Prince *di Canosa*, Minister of the Police, I have been arrested; and by His Majesty's order I am now banished the kingdom. I have asked all the authorities the reason of such a proceeding. Silence was all the answer I have received. I have begged again and again, but always in vain, to be brought to a trial, or at least to be heard in my own defence. I have only been given to understand that my case was exactly the same as that of every one who had deserved well of England and Lord Bentinck. I therefore think it my duty to inform you, Sir, of this fact; and to implore the pro-

tection of Great Britain, that through her I may obtain that justice and those rights, of which I am thus deprived for the services which I have rendered to her army.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
CAPTAIN FRANCIS ROMEO.

To Mr. Walker,
His Britannic Majesty's Consul,
at Naples.

Answer to the above Letter.

Naples, June 4, 1815.

Sir,

I have received your letter enclosing a copy of your documents, from which the actuality of your service does not appear. If you have none of fresher date, which can demonstate your present title to protection, as you are a subject of His Sicilian Majesty, the consulship cannot interfere in the subject of your application.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, &c.

To Capt. Francis Romeo. RICHARD WALKER.

Extract of the information taken by the Consulship of Alexandria, concerning the arrestation and banishment of Captain Francis Romeo.

WITNESSES,

Charles Bilotti, professor of mathematics, Calabrese; John Vassallo Neapolitan, Navy-accountant depose,

That Captain Romeo, for four months was de-

tained prisoner in Naples, and treated in the most cruel manner, without being permitted either to write or to see any friend; during all which time he was neither brought to any trial, examined, or interrogated. That suddenly he was transported on board a Swedish vessel, called the *Aurora*, and conveyed thence to Egypt. That they never knew him to have been guilty, but only understood by *public report* he was persecuted by the Neapolitan government solely for his being attached to the British service and interests; particularly for his having contributed to the political events, which took place at Messina, and in Sicily, when the late Queen of Naples was banished, and King Ferdinand removed from the government.

(Sworn) CHARLES BILOTTI,
JOHN VASSALLO.

(Witnesses to the above) CHARLES SCAND,
P. XAVERIUS STABILI.

(Signed) JOSEPH FRANGI, Secretary of the counsulship.

We, Peter Lee, His Britannic Majesty's consul at Alexandria in Egypt, do certify that the above signed Joseph Frangi is secretary of this British consulship. In proof of which

(Signed) PETER LEE, consul.

(L. S.) Here is the seal of the consulship.

Lieutenant General Sir James Campbell's certificate.

I do hereby certify, that Captain Francis Romeo was employed in the secret and confidential department of the British army in Sicily, in the years 1811-12,

when he rendered *essential* service to our interests in that island, insomuch as thereby to have acquired the *particular* and *marked indignation* of the present Neapolitan government, by which the said Francis Romeo, and *every other individual,* who, at *that period adhered* to *the British army,* or to the British Mission in Sicily, have since then *been persecuted with unrelenting rigour;* and I am fully persuaded he cannot with any degree of safety to himself hazard a return to his native country, without endangering his personal liberty at the least.

(Signed) JAMES CAMPBELL, Lt. Gen.
formerly Adj. Gen. to the Medi. army.

32, Queen Ann Street,
27th June, 1817.

Certificate of Lieutenant General Maitland, as to Captain Romeo's services and their consequences.

Francis Romeo, a Neapolitan gentleman, has applied to me to certify to His Majesty's Ministers, such knowledge as I have of his conduct and services in support of the British cause in *Sicily* during the years 1811-1812, at which time I was in command of His Majesty's troops at Messina, and I do not think it would be just in me to refuse or reject his application.

About the middle, or towards the end of the year 1811, when from the absence of the commander of the forces, Lieutenant General Lord Wm. Bentinck, I held the chief command, it was made known to me

from several sources, that there existed *an extensive secret intercourse* and correspondence between a *person of very high power in Sicily and Bonaparte*, one object of which was to drive the English army out of that island.

..... (From motives of delicacy the whole of this detail is not published; which after declaring that Captain Romeo was charged with ascertaining if the above correspondence was real, or imaginary, concludes by affirming that it was chiefly owing to the means he employed, that the attempt was proved to evidence, and that some of a considerable rank and employment in Messina, were arrested, tried, and convicted. The certificate then continues as follows:) which act I judged to be absolutely necessary, to counteract the *mischief which our open enemies*, or *our treacherous friends were together plotting against us*; and *the very chief of the Police* at *Messina* was *tried, convicted*, and *hanged for Treason*; his own letters to the French General Manhés (one of Bonaparte's generals, OVER WHOM MURAT HAD NO POWER) being seized in *transitu*, and produced in proof against him.

I HAVE NO DOUBT WHATEVER—NONE—THAT THOSE SERVICES TO THE BRITISH INTEREST DID PRODUCE THE ENMITY OF THE PRESENT NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS SIGNOR FRANCIS ROMEO, AND ALL ITS CONSEQUENCES.

(Signed) FREDERIC MAITLAND,
Lt. Gen.

To whom it may concern.

To General Layard, Vice Governor of Malta and its dependencies.

Sir,

You will see by the letter of the English Consul at Alexandria, in Egypt, what my case is; as well as the right and need I have to rely on Great Britain for protection; I therefore hope, Sir, you will not deny me the means of laying my complaints before your government; in order that I may obtain that justice from her, of which the services I have rendered to her army in Sicily, have been the means of depriving me.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

Capt. Francis Romeo.

Lazaretto, 30th March, 1817.

Remarks.

Lieut. Gen. Layard, upon this request, granted Capt. Romeo a passage to London, on board the Euphrates frigate, in order to lay his case before the British Government.

MEMORIAL I.

To the Earl of Bathurst, Principal Secretary of State for War and Colonies.

The Memorial of Dr. Francis Romeo, native of Calabria, and late Captain in His Britannic Majesty's Army, humbly sheweth,

That the services he rendered to the British army in Calabria in the years 1808 and 1809, expose him to many difficulties and dangers, as also to sustain the greatest sacrifices and expences.

That in 1811, during Lord Wm. Bentinck's resi-

dence in Sicily, as Minister Plenipotentiary, and General in Chief, Memorialist was the instrument of frustrating the project for destroying the English army, assassinating the English residents at Messina, and introducing the French troops in that island; and by his exertions he incurred the implacable hatred of the Sicilian Court, with whom it originated, as the Conspirators themselves have declared; but in return he received the assurances of the British Generals Maitland, Campbell, and Donkin, that he would be always under the protection of Great Britain.

That in 1815, after the kingdom of Naples returned under its ancient dynasty, Memorialist went back to his native country, in order to procure the restitution of his confiscated property; when he was arrested, carried to Naples, and thrown into a dungeon without being permitted to see any person. After a close confinement of five months, he was put on board a Swedish vessel, without undergoing any interrogation, and landed at Alexandria in Egypt, without any means of subsistence, until relieved by the British Consul Mr. Lee, who not only supplied him with money, but also procured him a passage to Malta, and gave a letter to General Layard, who sent him to England, that he might represent his case there to Government.

Memorialist, in appealing to the well known and rigid observance, by the British Government, of the faith pledged in its name, by their officers Gen. Maitland, Campbell, and Donkin, and that those services can be fully ascertained, by reference to his Excellency Lord Wm. Bentinck, feels perfectly convinced, his

case will receive from his Lordship, the consideration which it merits : Situated as he is at present, he finds it impossible to get possession of his rights and property, or return to his native country, and in England he has not any means of support, having incurred debts, coming from Egypt to London.

All which is most humbly and respectfully submitted.

(Signed) Francis Romeo, Captain.

12th June, 1817.

206, Tottenham Court Road.

Downing Street, 25th June, 1817.

Sir,

I am directed by Earl Bathurst, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and to acquaint you, that his Lordship has submitted your Memorial to the consideration of Lord Viscount Castlereagh, in order that his Lordship may adopt such measures, as he may consider practicable for inducing the Neapolitan Government, to afford you the relief which he considers your case to merit.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Henry Goulburn.

Capt. Romeo,

206, Tottenham Court Road.

The above declaration certainly relieved my mind of a great load of trouble. It shewed at the same time the justice of my cause, and the interest it had excited in the British Ministry. Your assessors, however, determined to mar my every right, prevented my

receiving any other relief, than that of consoling myself in the misfortune, which they had subjected me to, leaving me exposed to the infallible consequences of fruitless expectations. I neither obtained relief nor any audience on the subject. And I therefore resolved to address myself again to the said Minister of the Colonial Department, and to submit to him what follows:

Second Memorial of Capt. Romeo, May, 8th, 1818, *Submitted to the Right Hon. Lord Bathurst principal Secretary of State for the War and Colonial Department.*

My Lord,

I have been imprisoned, banished, and ruined by the present Ministry of Naples. I have been separated from my family and friends, expelled my country, and stripped of my property, and what affects me still more, my honour has been compromised. If I am guilty, my guilt ought to be made known, or investigated in some tribunal. But if I have been punished, without giving me to know either the cause of my punishment, or the proofs of the guilt imputed to me, whoever have acted so in my regard, have declared by so doing that the publication of my cause would redound to their own disgrace and misfortune; and that the guilt of him, whom they so punished, was not real, but imaginary. This would prove to be the case, were the Neapolitan Ministry forced to declare the true cause of my imprisonment and exile. They would then assuredly declare that I was punished for having

opposed the projects formed by my persecutors, that of destroying the British Army in Sicily, and of massacring them, together with their leaders; that which the same Ministry have otherwise proved by their operations, as well as by their so persecuting, injuring, and punishing in *the same manner as they have done myself*, all the others, who have concurred in serving the said army; and by their recalling from their prisons, dungeons, and exile, those who had wished to destroy it, in order to confide to them the highest posts in the kingdom, where they themselves now act as the dictators.

My Lord, if the cause of the persecutions which I have hitherto endured, is the consequence of the services I have rendered to the English, can the British Ministry overlook the misfortune to which I at present find myself subjected, for having obeyed it, and acted the part of an honourable man, *without indemnifying me, or revindicating my rights for me.*

Last year, my Lord, you had the goodness to forward my memorial to Lord Castlereagh, in order that he might procure me an answer and relief from the government of Naples, as appears from the copy herewith inclosed of the letter. From the silence of the said Miuister on the subject, one may easily perceive that all the steps which his Lordship may have taken on the subject, have been evaded or marred by the Sicilian Ministry. Should this be the case, I trust, my Lord, that you will be convinced with me, that the

said Ministry will never do justice to my claims, unless the British Government should deign to adopt measures more energetical, and less susceptible of being eluded; such as to persuade his Sicilian Majesty to oblige his Ministry either to prove *that they have punished me by the decision of a tribunal, and for some specific fault of mine; or to indemnify me for all my losses and expenses, and to compensate me for the affronts, sufferings and dangers, to which I have been exposed by the unjust persecution, to which they have subjected me.*

I beseech you, my Lord, to cause your decision in my regard, to be realized; to examine into the fact, and to recommend my memorial to Lord Castlereagh for the said purpose.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient, &c.

Capt. Francis Romeo.

Answer.

Downing Street, 19th May, 1818.

Sir,

I am directed by Earl Bathurst, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and to acquaint you, that he has referred it to Lord Castlereagh's consideration.

I am Sir,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) Henry Goulburn.

To Captain Romeo.

Remarks.

From the interest, which the British Ministry took in my behalf; from the attestations of the British Generals already submitted to you; from the very conduct itself of your counsellors towards me, and from their preceding behaviour; you may perceive, Sire, what the real cause has been of the misfortune and ignominious treatment, to which I have hitherto been subjected. It is true, the steps taken by the Minister of the Colonial Department in my behalf, have not had any favourable result. Your Ministers have been able to elude all his kind endeavours, as well as the wise provisions of every law, especially of the constitutional system guaranteed by Great Britain. I have neither witnessed any proofs adduced of my alledged guilt, nor any relief or indemnification granted me for the ills, with which I have been so unjustly loaded. Your Ministers can well make the laws subservient to their own views, but not their views to the laws; nor are these worthies at a loss to find, amid the gloom that envelops them, the needful expedients, when they wish to shew themselves all powerful against those, who have no other defence to oppose to their dark manœuvres, but truth and honour.

We shall soon perhaps have an occasion, Sire, to shew how it could have happened, as it has in fact, that your Ministry has succeeded in evading the investigation required, and in not complying with the just request, which Lord Bathurst condescended to

make in my behalf. It suffices at present to manifest the motive to you, which induces your actual counsellors to do all they can to destroy my rights. Their motive is clearly manifested by the following letter of Lieut. Gen. Campbell, even should the law of contraries not suffice to make it evident.

Copy of Lieut. Gen. Campbell's letter to Captain Romeo.

32, Queen Ann Street, 27th June, 1817.

As you request, I have sent you a certificate relative to your services rendered to the British Army in Sicily, and shall be gratified to know it is in any manner useful to you, as I am well aware how hopeless and useless it is to expect you should meet with any countenance from the present Neapolitan Government, solely on account of the zeal you displayed in forwarding the interests of Great Britain, on a peculiar and important occasion.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) J. Campbell.

Capt. Francis Romeo, 206, Tottenham Court Road.

(120) Were we to enter into details on this affair, and to discuss all the principles of public economy regarding it, we should fear having the old proverb applied to us: *Sed jam longior veste evasit lascinia.* We therefore defer doing so till those illustrious etherial publico-economists, in a language adapted to the understanding of poor, weak, and stupid

mortals, deign to unfold to us their sublime ideas ; and only remark here in the by going, that the proposal of their plan in the Parliament of Palermo, quite shocked the principal barons of that kingdom ; and occasioned that change in the government, which exposed those wiseacres themselves to no common mortifications.

(121) On your leaving Sicily, you yourself extolled exceedingly the fidelity and attachment of its inhabitants to your throne ; and you promised to look upon them always with the eyes of a father. Soon after this, that Island was deprived of the privileges, which it had enjoyed for many centuries ; and of the constitution, which you yourself had granted to it. How can such words and deeds be reconciled ? Deign, Sire, to attend to this. When you made this assurance, those, who now counsel you, had not as yet quitted their prisons, nor returned from their banishment. As soon as they made their appearance again, the fate of your subjects, the establishment made by your Majesty, the measures combined with your friends, were all reversed and destroyed.

(122) No, Sire, you could not punish those, who constitute your firmest support, and who can, in their indignation, occasion your ruin. Such an act could become none, but your present assessors. It could please but them, in order thus to render themselves superior to your Majesty ; and to induce your people to submit for the future to the views of your Ministry,

not to those of their Sovereign ; and perhaps still more in order to punish those, who had dared to oppose the perfidy of the wretches who then and still now advise you; to punish them, who had withdrawn you thus from the edge of the most fatal precipice, on which you were placed.

(123) This is the supreme wish of your assessors. Neither the principles of an Aristides, nor the views of the *Areopagus*, would have any influence on your actual Ministry.

(124) An existing fact, demonstrated by a thousand others.

(125) And to invest with it another of your family. You cannot be ignorant of this expedient, imagined in order to destroy at once all the hopes of your familiars; and you will recollect that it was the enlightened conduct of your heir apparent, that hindered the project from being realized.

(126) A circumstance so manifest and notorious shews clearly what sort of conduct, and what class of persons, can ever be accounted meritorious by your assessors.

(127) Will your actual counsellors deny to your Majesty this fact also? They manifested their abhorrence of them every where and on all occasions in 1799, but they could not accomplish their destruction. The existence of wise men in your kingdom is visible

by their works, their writings, and the very dread of them, which their rivals betray.

(128) Will your Ministers have the impudence still to impose upon you in a principle so very evident? Let them do so, but let them deign to shew us their reasons, if they wish to hear them answered.

(129) The premises already demonstrated, prove the consequences thence deduced.

(130) How obvious, how many are the observations, which could be made in your dominions on this head! But the bigots, who are now seated by your side, are too anxious to keep them out of sight.

Prospectus of a plan of public instruction adapted equally to the most extensive empire and the smallest states; capable of being realized with little or no expence to the Government; and tending much to better the resources of the public.

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Classes of Instruction—How to divide their attributes and duties.

Orders and Gradations of Studies.—How to regulate their combinations.

Respective Establishments.—How to better their condition and secure their object.

Corresponding Means.—How to obtain, to employ, to perpetuate and extend them.

Instructive Ecclectics.—How to form them.

Objects.

Languages.—What helps most to the knowledge of them, and exercises.

History.—What is necessary in order to study it with profit.

Sciences.—How they are best perfected and learned.

Arts.—How to become experienced in them, and practically to succeed in them.

Corresponding Classes.

Moral Instruction.

How much it ought to be promoted among the people. How to do so, what means to employ, in order to succeed. What principles are necessary. What aptitude he should have, who is desirous of learning it, and what method he should use, in order to succeed in his undertaking.

Mechanical Instruction.

Of production and amelioration. What is necessary for the former; what is wanted for the latter. What method to use, in order to learn it. By what system to benefit it; by what means to support it. By what expedients to extend and perfect it.

Literary Instruction.

What branches it explains. What it constantly requires of these.—What dispositions facilitate its acquirement in the learner.

Order.

The qualities which initial instruction should have. How to render it general and uniform. How to assist every citizen in acquiring it.

Progressive Instruction.

Its character—Its influence on society. How to improve the one and extend the other.

Universal Instruction.

Of faculty. Its nature. Its object. Its wants. Plan for providing and improving it.

Of Trades. Their properties. Object. Consequences. System for procuring the first, for rendering useful the second, for profiting by the last.

Applicative Instruction.

Its use. The advantages which it brings. Precautions and necessary attention to secure it.

Demonstrative Instruction.

Causes that promote it. Obstacles that retard it. Expedients for favouring the former, and surmounting the latter.

Means to support Instruction.

Indispensible.—Local, books, masters, scholars.

Conducive.—Parents, government.

Facilitating.— Method, machines, instruments, apparatus, figures, libraries, museums, correction, encouragement.

Indispensible.

Local.—What is requisite for each of the above establishments. How to find them, to arrange them properly, and to provide them.

Books.—What chiefly recommends them. By what system to produce and to find good books. How to generalize the useful ones, and to suppress the useless and dangerous ones.

Masters. Their necessary qualities. How to choose them. How to secure them: how to procure them: how to engage them to render themselves useful and illustrious.

Disciples. Conditions essential for them. How to regulate them properly, and to render them useful.

Conducive.

Parents. When they should be interested, and how to induce them to make their children be well instructed.

Government. How to assist it, and engage it to secure and meliorate the instruction of its subjects.

Facilitating in general.

Libraries. How to form, enrich and generalize them.

Method. What that is which best suits schools, colleges, universities, gymnasiums of mechanics, directories of demonstration.

Machines; instruments, figures. What helps these afford. What is to be done to procure them, to use them, to improve them.

Correction and Encouragement: System for the application of both. The manner of using the first; directions and expedients for effecting the last.

Facilitating in particular.

Relative to each branch of instruction; to the upholding of talent and genius. To the weakness of the organs, and animal powers. What helps most to the knowledge of languages. What is necessary in order to study history to advantage. How the sciences are to be perfected and most easily learned. What *data* the arts require in order to become the most useful and the least difficult.

What is most favourable to the instructive establishments; or what are the facilitating means for the Schools, and how to dispose them.

What those for Colleges, and how to use them.

What expedients conduce most to the benefit of Universities.

What helps most gymnasiums of mechanics?

What means are most useful for the directories of demonstration.

Ecclectic System.

How to form it. How to introduce it into any country the instruction it wants. Method of ascertaining if it exists. Plan for augmenting the necessary instruction, for diffusing the useful, for moderating the amusive. System for adapting the studies to the nature of the instruction sought; to the state; to the learner's condition and capacity.

Demonstrations and Application of the Respective Principles.

For the Moral Branch. Churches, cloisters, the pulpit, houses of correction, prize competitions, charitable establishments, foundling hospitals, mad houses.

For Mechanics: productive Statutes: and for these, fields for tillage, rural works, pasturage and metalurgical operations, hunting, fishing.

Ameliorating Statutes, or those for the transformation of the raw material found in the three kingdoms of nature. Fabrics, Laboratories, manufactories, laws on the exchange of the superfluous for the needful, namely *Commerce;* and for this last, houses of exchange, fairs, banks, markets, post offices, enterprizes, business, industry, and commercial mechanism.

For the Literary Branch.—Of public health—Hospitals, botanical gardens, chemical laboratories, places for physical experiments, anatomical cabinets, clinical halls, lying-in hospitals, hygienic observatories, Lazarettos, places for curing contagious disorders, the scab, itch, small-pox, syphillis, epidemics. Matrimonial establishments, store houses, and places for the physical education of the citizen.

Of Police. External—Civil—Rural—Courts and diplomatical cabinets. How to prevent public and private injuries. Tribunals, prisons, punishments, visits, assemblies, festive spectacles. Investigation of the culture, labours; department and distribution of fields.

Of the Military department, Parade grounds, fortifications, founderies, promotion, degradation, stratagems.

(132) Sire, to deny this truth, it were necessary first to deny the real existence of your people, and the faculty of seeing, hearing and touching, which nature has granted to every man. They have heard, seen and suffered its saddest effects.

(133) In London it is quite otherwise: His Britannic Majesty is not pleased to see any present themselves at court clothed in foreign manufactures.

(134) The practice of this principle, that of exalting the good and depressing the wrong dispositions of the people; that of spurring on the indolent, and encouraging the industrious; is the complete crowning of all the social virtues; and that which constitutes the glory of those nations, who are influenced by it. The Greeks, the Romans, the Samnites, your own Brutians, are indebted to it for all their splendour. To the neglect of such principle, and the opposition put to it, is owing the decay and degradation of the people; the weakness of princes, the actual misfortunes of your kingdom; and the pitiful figure you yourself have been obliged to make on the past emergencies. It is to your actual counsellors that your Majesty and your people owe so inestimable a benefit.

(135) It seems as if Bonaparte had adopted for this purpose the idea of Justinian; who observing that

Christianity was the more extended, the more it was oppressed, and the more it sought to conceal itself; imagined that he would overturn it by allowing it to be openly professed, and its principles to be publicly inculcated.

(136 page 286) The observations here submitted to you, may suffice, Sire, to make you distinguish the reasons for depriving Sicily of its newly acquired as well as ancient privileges. It was stripped of them assuredly either as being unworthy to enjoy them, or because it was dangerous and antipolitical to grant them to it. Has it then shewn itself unworthy of them since you declared it a truly loyal and meritorious nation? Has it deserved to lose them, because it never chose to submit to the late Ruler of France; to the sacred Mecenases of those, who are now seated by your side; because it twice received you a fugitive; defended you, when forsaken, supported you, when persecuted? Could such crimes as these, Sire, remain unpunished, unavenged by your assessors? Doubtless it was dangerous to grant it such privileges, because you were the one who granted them! What a fatal precedent were this, to let your people perceive that they are your Majesty's measures, and not those of your favourites, that deserve being obeyed and fulfilled in the kingdom!! It is dangerous to respect the Sicilian Constitution, because, with some little difference, it is the very same as that, by which Great Britain for many ages has been, and still is regulated; because it was owing to it that this indigent and wretched power saw its national bank twice fail; and

that findingitself without any credit, means or resources, either political or moral, His Majesty George the Third had been repeatedly obliged to fly in the utmost precipitation from his kingdom, and his army to disappear like a flash of lightning. It is truly dangerous that your subjects should have the means of satisfying their real wants, and of securing their independence and prosperity. Both these had been promised them by the Allied Sovereigns; but could it ever become the occult satellites of Bonaparte to allow these their promises to be realized? Was it ever expedient for the gloomy sons of an *Alecto* and a *Tisiphone*, that the temple of *Janus* in Europe should remain so long shut up; and that there should be no more incendiaries left to throw the apple of discord between princes and their subjects? It being Great Britain that guaranteed the Sicilian Constitution, could it well suit the wretched assassins of the English army that such a system should remain in vigour in a kingdom, of which they had finally become the Rulers? As it was Great Britain that promoted that system, how could it but be a dangerous one to the state, observing, as we have done, how much the influence and friendship of that power had proved fatal to your Majesty, and how ruinous to your people; and after observing at the same time how unfortunate and wretched England had become, by having adopted it; and how weak its Sovereign had been rendered by it, and unable to support the duties and splendour of his throne? Anti-political and strange indeed would it be to respect, after all this, such a system. This would have been corresponding too much with the wishes and endeavours of the actual

friends of their country; with those of the European Sovereigns, who are studying to secure the happiness of their subjects.

Though an absolute Monarch, the Emperor of Russia thinks only, according to the most liberal principles, of securing the felicity of his people, as well as the strength and stability of his throne. He has granted a constitution to the Poles, and new means of instruction and civilization to his subjects. Lewis the Eighteenth abides by the generous constitution and charter, which he himself granted to his people. He has thus attached them to his government; and, under the most difficult circumstances, assisted by the whole nation, and by the wisdom of its Representatives, he has thus succeeded in reconciling the opposite factions, in destroying of anarchy, and in displaying in his government that becoming aptness, and that vigorous character, which has acquired for him the esteem and good will of his subjects; and the admiration and confidence of the other Sovereigns. The illustrious Prince of Orange, the King of Bavaria, and several other crowned heads, have also granted, Sire, liberal constitutions and systems of government to their people. Your illustrious Ministry, by a conduct in this respect diametrically opposite, most assuredly prove that the late George the Third, and the present George the Fourth of England; that Alexander of Russia, Lewis the Eighteenth, and almost all the other Sovereigns now reigning in Europe, are but so many wretched bunglers, and entire strangers to politics; and the real benefic deities of the people,

the illustrious and wise by excellence, are only the actual counsellors in your kingdom, the occult agents and generous proselytes of Napoleon ! !

Sire, These, your wise assessors, have deemed it more suitable for their purpose to adopt, in preference to those of the above mentioned Allied Sovereigns, the principles of their faithful Colleagues, the Ex-ministers of Spain: and it appears also, that they wish very much to see renewed on the banks of the *Oretes*, the changes, which have taken place in that kingdom, without their being however accompanied with the same acknowledgment of error, made by its Monarch; nor with the same dignity, moderation and loyalty, as those displayed by its natives.

These wise worthies have declared in the midst of their obscurity that your people ought to be subjected to the very same sort of law: that the Sicilian constitution was abolished for that purpose, and the system adopted in Naples, made common to the inhabitants of both countries.

The system adopted in Naples? That, to wit, which Murat had introduced; which Napoleon had approved of; with this it is intended to unite your subjects: while that unanimously called for by the public in Sicily; granted under auspices the most favourable to your Majesty; and guaranteed by your most trusty friends; is judged unfit, and insufficient to obtain the desired effect; and it is thought absurd to extend it to the Neapolitans. It was not perhaps the wish to

unite, but motives of preference, that occasioned the change in question. Your assessors doubtless must have thought that the system of Bonaparte and Murat was better calculated to satisfy the wants of your people, than that of England, established by your Majesty. The fitness of the former to cause the prosperity of the Neapolitans was still problematical: whereas that of the latter, chosen by yourself, and granted to the Sicilians, was proved by the fact, in the example of a nation, who for many ages had felt its benefic influence; and which had thereby rendered itself great and illustrious. Notwithstanding all this, the former was chosen, and the latter rejected; and in this it appears that your assessors had nothing else in view, but to exalt and depress the qualities of the respective donors. It was thus, Sire, that these faithful and sincere friends of your Majesty, those who assist you now, have evidently proved the degree of esteem they had for yourself, for the Allied Sovereigns, and, above all, for Great Britain; and also what concern they had for the country, and what aversion they entertained for your enemies. It was and is thus, Sire, that your actual Ministry shewed the ardent zeal they felt to erase from the recollection of your subjects the idea of your rival; and to make them abhor his very name, together with his deeds and principles; and to engage them always more and more in your views, and those of the actual Sovereigns of Europe!! They, who have done so much, caused Murat to be shot, to make him be for ever forgotten by your subjects; and not rather to suppress by his death the testimony

of their own infamy; not to make you insult his protectors; not to enhance the glory of Napoleon; and not to afford the children of such a competitor the fittest means of being able some day to avenge his death!!

FINIS.

ERRATA.

page.		*line.*	
21	—	3	(28) read the following numbers one in advance.
22	—	23	for *to,* read *of.*
59	—	12	for *presenting,* read *persecuting.*
66	—	2	for *to incite anarchy,* read *to incite to anarchy.*
88	—	18	for *faith be,* read *faith to be.*
104	—	14	for *his,* read *her.*
114	—	7	for *extensior or,* read *extension of.*
117	—	6	for *author,* read *authors.*
148	—	14	for *avengin,* read *avenging.*
152	—	21	for *gainst,* read *against.*
184	—	20	for *loving,* read *living.*
188	—	4	for *ss,* read *as.*
203	—	18	for *to look,* read *or to look.*
209	—	2	for *furnish him good,* read *furnish him with good.*
232	—	24	for *they,* read *there.*
259	—	7	for *as to,* read *as not to.*
263	—	20	for *compleon,* read *completion.*

H 117 89

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